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UNTONG, A TARACAN TIDONG WEARING THE CHAWAT

Frontispiece

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THE TIDONG DIALECTS OF BORNEO

BY

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WITH PREFACE AND NOTES

BY

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OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1908

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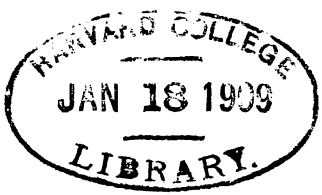

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PREFACE

THE author of this grammar and vocabulary of the 'Tidong language' requested me to peruse his work and write a short preface to it. I gladly complied with this request, as the said language had not yet been investigated by any European scholar, as far as I know, and any research leading to a completer knowledge of the vast domain of Malay-Polynesian tongues must be welcome to the orientalists who study them. The specialists of this particular branch of linguistic science are few indeed, and the author seems to have realized this when entrusting his work to the hands of a Dutchman: Holland in fact is the only country where a doctorate in M.-P. languages (officially called 'linguarum Indicarum') is to be obtained at a University, that of Leyden. I cannot but be thankful for this honour.

A careful perusal of the grammar and the vocabulary of *Tidong*, especially the Tarakan dialect, led me to the conclusion, that its nearest relation must be the so-called *Ngāju-Dāyak*, of which a valuable dictionary and a grammar were written by a missionary, the late *Dr. A. Hardeland*, who lived fourteen years among the Dayaks on the Barito river in the interior of Borneo. But also *Malay* and *Javanese* offer many points of resemblance. In fact *Tidong* belongs to the same group—the western one—in which may be reckoned *Sundanese*, *Madurese* (on Java and Madura), *Balinese*, *Buginese* and *Makassarese* (these two on Celebes), and *Lampong*, *Batak*, *Minangkabau*, *Achinese*, *Gayo*, &c., on Sumatra.

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But not only the oriental student will appreciate the work of Mr. Beech; I am confident this fruit of his three years' residence in North Borneo will also be useful to those who may be in need of a practical guide to the Tidong language. Being a colonial myself and having resided in Western Borneo and Java as a magistrate and a controller in the Dutch Colonial Civil Service, I know how helpful such a guide may prove to be in those far-off and scarcely known regions.

A short Appendix deals with the phonetic system and some other points of the grammar which needed a more extensive linguistic treating for oriental students. As the Malay language may be supposed to be the best known among the sisters of Tidong, the grammar of the former has been constantly laid together with that of the latter for the sake of comparison.

A. A. F.

AMSTERDAM, *November* 25, 1907.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THIS short work is offered to the public in the hope that it may be of some interest to students of Malay and its dialects.

I have been unable to treat the subject at greater length, as I had hoped, owing to the fact that I only remained in Borneo for three years. This must serve as my excuse for any shortcomings or inaccuracies.

As I believe I am the first European to learn these dialects I produce this little book as a foundation-stone for some one more competent to build upon.

My very best thanks are due to Dr. A. A. Fokker of Amsterdam University, who, although a complete stranger to me, has been so good as to revise, annotate, and preface my work, and by many valuable suggestions to give me the benefit of his great knowledge of the Malay-Polynesian languages.

M. W. H. B.

GREAT BEALINGS RECTORY.
November 27, 1907.

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TIDONGS, LABUK RIVER, B.N. BORNEO

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CHAPTER I

THE TIDONG LANGUAGE

IT is a generally accepted theory that all natives of Borneo were originally of Malay extraction. The Tidongs are obviously so. These people occupy the East Coast of Borneo between Lahad-Dato and the country a little to the south of Bolongan, though they seldom penetrate more than thirty miles inland.

I found it extremely difficult to elucidate their history from conversation with themselves, but the following theory appears to me to be the correct one.

At some remote date pirates, belonging to the tribes we may call Malays proper, landed on the coast of Borneo near Bolongan. The country was then in the hands of the aboriginal Kayans.

With this race the settlers intermarried, their descendants becoming what are now known as Tidongs.

These men followed the Muhammadan religion introduced by the Malays.

The new race spoke a mixture of Kayan and Malay, which I have called Tidong proper.

After some time one half of the Tidongs apparently migrated to the island of Tarakan, while the other half stayed in the Bolongan district.

Those who stayed in Bolongan gave up a great many of the Kayan words and tried to assimilate the Malay, while the emigrants to Tarakan retained the purest Kayan words, e.g. the Kayan for the English word 'clear' is *banta*, and is retained by the Tarakan branch and its offshoots, while the Tidongs of Bolongan use the word *t'räng*, which is pure Malay, except for the fact that it is pronounced as the English word 'bang'.

Now there were further emigrations from Tarakan to the neighbouring islands and rivers, so that the Tarakan dialect became

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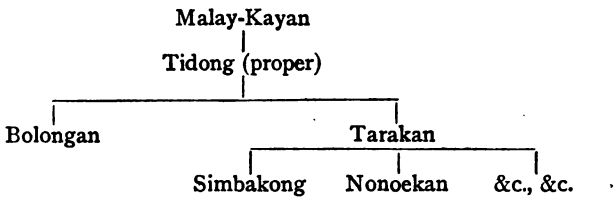
slightly varied in the different rivers and islands. This is of course due to intercourse with up-country natives. Once divided, the scarcity of population and the fear of foes, making communication difficult, have all tended to diversify the talk.

The following table will illustrate what I imagine to be the genealogy of the Tidong dialects:—



Tidong proper is, of course, non-existent now, so that the two dialects of which I have determined to treat in this little book are those of Bolongan and Tarakan. A man who speaks these two dialects can make himself intelligible to any Tidong, even if (as in the case of the offshoots of Tarakan) the native might have some difficulty in replying. Nearly every Tidong I have met can speak both Bolongan and Tarakan, the former being most popular in Dutch, the latter in British territory.

The fact that occasionally a Tidong is to be met with a wealth of curly hair is easily explained as being a result of the Kayan strain in their blood, as curly hair among the Kayans, though not general, is at least not uncommon.

The Kayans, being a primitive race, had only a small vocabulary. As time has progressed, their descendants, the Tidongs, have supplied this lack from the language of the modern Malay settlers, and through them even Arabic, Portuguese and Dutch words have crept in.

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TIDONGS, LABUK RIVER, B.N. BORNEO

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CHAPTER II

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE TIDONGS IN THEIR VILLAGE LIFE

IN the various books and papers, published in English, French, or German, on the subject of Borneo, which I have had the opportunity of perusing, I have found but one mention of the Tidongs. It is true that the numbers of these people are not very vast, yet they are represented over a considerable portion of the East Coast of Borneo, and are, therefore, sure to come in contact with any one who goes to that side of the island.

The account referred to is in Mr. H. Ling Roth's book on Borneo, and I quote it in full to show from my experience the great change that has taken place in these people with the advent of civilization. 'On the N. E. part of Borneo is a savage piratical people called Oran Tedong[1], or Tiroon, who live far up certain rivers. The Sooloos[2] have lately subdued them by getting their rajah (or chief) into their power.

'These Oran Tedong fit out vessels large and small and cruise among the Philippine Islands, as has been formerly said. They also cruise from their own country, west to Pirate's Point, and down the coast of Borneo as far as the island of Labuan.

'After an excursion I once made from Balambangan to Patatan, and little beyond the island Pulo Gaya; on my return I put into a small bay, east of Pirate's Point, almost opposite Balambangan. There appeared nine Tedong pirates in vessels of small size, about that of London wherries below bridge. Several Badjoo boats being in the bay at the same time, the people laid the boats close to the shore, landed, and clapt on their iron ring "jackets" for

[1] I use the spelling 'Tidong' in accordance with my scheme on p. 18. *oran* = 'orang,' 'men.'

[2] Sulus are the natives of the Philippines, called by the Americans 'Moros', a word borrowed from their predecessors the Spaniards.

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defence. The pirates kept in a regular line, put about, and stretched off together, not choosing to land. Had I been alone in the bay I might have fallen into their hands. The Oran Tedong live very hard on their cruises, their provisions being raw sago flour.

'They have no *attop*[1] or covering; nay, sometimes, as the Sooloos have told me, they go, especially if it rains, stark naked. The Moors of Magindano and the Illanos, also Moors, despise these people. When they meet, however, in roads and harbours among the Philippines, where the common prey is, they do not molest one another. I have been told that the Oran Tedong will in certain cases eat human flesh . . . Their boats are small, and made of thin planks sewn together. I have heard of some such, once shut up in a bay by a Spanish cruiser. They took the boats to pieces and carried them overland. The Oran Tedong make a great deal of granulated sago, which they sell to the Sooloos very cheap; perhaps at one dollar a picul. The Sooloos, as has been said, sell this again to the Chinese junks.' (Forrest, p. 374.)

That the Tidongs were originally pirates is quite certain, but it will be noticed that such characteristics as cannibalism are attributed to them by their quondam foes the Sulus.

During the past few years I have come into contact with both Sulus and Tidongs to a considerable extent, and I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that, whatever they may have been formerly, the Tidongs of the present day are a race far preferable to the Sulus in every way. The Tidongs build their villages about thirty miles up the rivers, at the point nearest the sea where the water is free from salt at low tide. They build their houses on piles by the river bank. The walls and roofs are made of ataps, or dried leaves of the Nipa palm, fastened together with rotan.

From each house there runs out a platform with steps down into the water. At the bottom of these steps is tied the owner's *prahu* or *jongkong*[2].

[1] *Attop*, i. e. *atap*, a Malay word used for any kind of roof-covering. These are generally made of the dried leaves of the nipa-palm by the dwellers near the coast, and of leaves of the sago-palm by natives of the interior.

[2] 'Dug-out' canoes, varying from about 3 to 12 feet in length. The sides are made of planks fastened on with rotan, and therefore easily detachable.

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TIDONGS, LABUK RIVER, N.W. BORNEO

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The jungle around is all cleared and planted with sago, bananas, coconuts and *obi-kayu*[1].

Each man has his *padi* patch whereon, if the owner is not too lazy to plant it, enough rice can be grown for the family's simple wants. The coco-nuts and bananas serve as barter.

When the *padi* is ripe, men and women and children cut it. The grain is separated from the husk by pounding it in a wooden cavity cut out of a log of wood[2]. This is the business of the women and children[3].

Every village has its chief, or *orang tua* (old man), also its Imam, who looks after the little mosque. For the Tidong professes to be a Muhammadan, though he is very far from being orthodox; strict observance of prayer and ceremony and anything approaching bigotry and fanaticism being quite foreign to his easy-going ideas.

There will, perhaps, be one or two Chinese or Arab shops where he buys his tobacco and clothes, and where, on his return from the jungle, he will sell his gutta or his rotan.

A dozen dogs act as scavengers, and a few fowls are kept to be killed on special occasions only.

The Tidong on his river lives a very simple life. He does as little arduous work as possible, and living being so cheap, there is nothing to induce him to work strenuously. He has not the slightest desire to become rich—enough food for the day is the only thing to be thought of. A single day's journey to the sea will furnish him with fish which, when dried, will be sufficient to last a week, while prawns may always be had out of the river at low tide. He is, nevertheless, invariably in debt to the shopkeepers; for should he have a successful search in the jungle, all his profits, whether large or small, are immediately squandered on clothes, or on a huge feast, or even at that corrupting institution, the Chinese gambling farm. No amount of talking or explanation will induce him to save enough to pay for his next outlay when he wishes to go into the jungle. On the contrary, he will always take his rice and stores from the shop, where it is given him on credit, on condition that whatever he obtains in the jungle must be sold at that particu-

[1] *Obi-kayu* = the tree potato. The word explains itself.
[2] A log of wood for pounding: Mal. *lumpang*, Jav. *l'sung*.—F.
[3] Just as in Java.—F.

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lar shop. Consequently prices rest with the shopkeeper, and the Tidong can never look around for the best market. It is true that when he sells his gutta to the shop there is an unwritten law that the purchaser may only cut through the lump once. Consequently he thinks he gets the better of the Chinaman by inserting in his lump of gutta a judicious mixture of leaves, twigs, and other foreign bodies; and, child as he is, he never realizes that the Chinaman makes allowances for this when he names his price, whether the gutta be adulterated or not.

He is withal very proud. No inducement in the shape of high wages will induce him to work as a coolie. He likes to be free, so that he can work for a bare existence for one half of the day, and for the other half be idle, or squat in the shade, weaving a sleeping mat out of rotan, or dyeing his trousers some brilliant shade of purple or green.

In his private life the Tidong is distinctly more moral, or perhaps I should say less immoral, than the other nations who live around. He will always be found to be polite, but never servile, and when one gets to know him, he will speak his mind in an honest and straightforward way that is never in the slightest degree insolent. This characteristic, together with the possession of a strong sense of humour, makes him an exceedingly attractive person.

The Tidong averages in height about five feet; his colour is as a rule a light coffee, but it varies a great deal, and is sometimes almost black. His hair, sometimes straight and sometimes curly, is generally allowed to grow long, though he wears it wound up into the handkerchief which forms his head covering. His nose is inclined to be 'spread'—his limbs are wonderfully straight and symmetrical.

Contrary to the custom of most of the Borneo tribes that profess Muhammadanism, the woman herself decides whether she will accept any of her suitors. She cannot be compelled to marry against her will.

The fatalistic tendency in the Tidong is strong. Some of his customs and superstitions are interesting. The Tidong always files the top row of his front teeth so as to make them perfectly level[1]. He may not treat the bottom row in the same way unless either his father or his mother is dead. In the same

[1] Like so many other Malay tribes, e. g. the Javanese.—F.

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PANGIRAN AJI PATI, CHIEF OF TIDONGS, LABUK RIVER

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way, he stains his finger-nails red with the juice obtained from a certain leaf, but the middle finger and thumb must not be touched unless he is in mourning. The first, third, and little finger-nails are always stained the evening before he is married.

A rich woman or rajah's wife will wear her nails as long as possible, to show that she is above doing any work. Eventually she has them cut off and made into bracelets with gold fastenings. This custom is apparently borrowed from the Chinese.

The Tidong is extremely superstitious about devils and spirits. A sick man makes white chalk marks all over his body to frighten them away. Children, if they attend funerals, invariably have the palms of their hands and the soles of their feet whitened for the same reason. As you approach a village from the sea, you will often see suspended from a tree overhanging the water, what at first sight seems to be a bird-cage painted with various gaudy colours. Inside this are various kinds of rice, cakes, eggs, and cooked fowl. This is a propitiatory feast to the evil spirits of sickness, whose wrath it is hoped to turn from the village by the offering. The natives call this the *Mahligai*[1].

The visitor to a Tidong village will often have his night's rest spoiled by the incessant beating of gongs. These are used where we use a bugle. Every rhythm has a different signification, e.g. the call to assembly, the call to arms, &c., &c. But the most common use of these gongs is in connexion with the *Berhantu* (or 'people possessed').

Occasionally[2] a spirit from the air (*sētan*[3]) enters into a woman, and she will be seen to be continually asleep, and as she sleeps her legs and her feet will be seen to quiver. When she wakes up she will sometimes rush out and dive into the water, and 'occasionally she will get hold of a child, and make as if to eat him'. Her friends and relations then assemble and beat their gongs in the house. After a time the woman will dance and possibly sing. She

[1] Perhaps from the Malay *meligai*, a palace, ملیکي.

[2] I have witnessed this ceremony on several occasions, but I give the description here as nearly as possible in the words of a Tidong who tried to explain it to me.

[3] شیطان (Ar.). Our word 'Satan' is, of course, Hebrew and closely related to the Arabic word.—F.

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then sits down on a cushion under which her relations surreptitiously place *sirih*, camphor, gambier, and betel-nut. 'If she immediately faints, this is a sign that it is a true spirit of the air with which she has become possessed; but if she does not, it is a sign that her seizure is only a form of hysteria induced by her being *gila-jantan* (in love).[1] If she has fainted, and is therefore possessed of a true *sētan*, which I am told is only the case about once in a hundred times, the relatives remove the *sirih* from underneath the cushion, whereupon she immediately recovers. That spirit is now considered to be expelled, 'but another immediately takes its place' and the woman again falls asleep. While she is asleep the *sētan* points out to her who are the evildoers in the village—who stole this, who murdered that man, and so on. She will then instruct the spirit either to punish them with sickness, or death, or else turn their hearts from wickedness and make them respectable members of society. Needless to say I never came across a true *berhantu*. In every case that came under my observation the subject was merely 'in love'. It is, however, astonishing how these women can work themselves up to such a pitch of hysterical excitement as to rush wildly from the house and take a flying leap into a river swarming with crocodiles, as I have actually known them to do.

Again, if some one in the village happens to be ill, the friends and relatives again assemble in the house and beat gongs. Some one will be chosen to dance; 'after about half-an-hour he will go and visit the patient, and if the sight provokes him to laughter he will know that the spirit has emanated from himself. Very often a man has as many as ten spirits dwelling in him. They are not subject to his will. For instance, a spirit dwelling in a man may take a dislike to another man, and may enter into this other man in the form of a disease, or even of death, while the man from whom the spirit came may be all the time on exceedingly good terms with the victim, and not wish him any ill at all.' So that when the dancer has visited the sick man and finds out that the evil spirit is from himself he 'will not command but try to persuade it to come out'. If his persuasion proves successful the spirit, pre-

[1] In the Malay of Borneo *jantan* is applicable either to animals or human beings. So in Tidong *dinandu* (Tar.), *d'dor* (Bol.) apply to either.

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SERUDONG, A TIDONG VILLAGE
NATIVES OF WHICH SPEAK THE TARACAN DIALECT

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sumably as a Parthian shot, 'will tell him not to give the sick man any medicine.' The Tidong knows that he must disobey this 'prompting in his heart', give the sick man medicine, and he will get well. Should, however, the sight of the patient provoke the dancer to anger, it is a sign that the spirit has emanated from some other man. He will then ask from whom it has come and why, and on receiving the answer, he will go in search of the original possessor of the spirit who may, or may not, try to exorcise it. If he is unwilling or unable to do this the patient dies. Yet the man from whom the spirit came 'is in no way held responsible for his death, because it is generally admitted that he has no actual power over the spirits dwelling within him, and his own wishes may be even actually opposed to theirs'. Analogously, if a man commits a heinous offence against his fellow men, and is afterwards repentant, he can always lay the blame upon some itinerant spirit, that has taken refuge with him and afterwards passed on, and thus escape all ill-will. The Tidongs believe in the 'evil eye'.

They object to being photographed, as each photograph is believed to take away some of their essence or being. Toothache is ascribed to the presence of a worm in the tooth, which a clever doctor can cause to descend through the arm and wriggle out at the finger-tips.

'Stones thrown into the river at certain places will certainly bring about a flood, and thrown into other parts will cause rain.'

'Hitting a man three times with a wooden spoon will cause him to be turned into a monkey.'

'Mushrooms spring from dogs' urine, and if when you gather them you shout like a madman more will spring up in their place.'

'A looking-glass and a bunch of *seri* placed outside will cause rain to cease.'

'If when you talk to a friend you put one hand on his shoulder and not one hand on each of his shoulders you will certainly lose your memory.'

On the whole I found the Tidong a charming person. There is something attractive about his very failings. In his home he is peaceable and law-abiding, and as a companion in the jungle I found him most careful for my comfort, and a cheery, if not always intellectual, conversationalist round the camp fire.

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CHAPTER III

GRAMMAR OF THE TIDONG DIALECTS

ABBREVIATIONS

Mal. = Malay.
Tar. = Tarakan.
Bol. = Bolongan
Sim. = Simbakong } Tidong.
Non. = Nonoekan

Bug. = Bugis.
Sul. = Sulu.
Jav. = Javanese.
Kay. = Kayan.

ALPHABET AND PRONUNCIATION.

ā is equivalent to the *a* in the English word 'rather'. In a good many words, however, in the Bolongan dialect it is often pronounced as in the English word 'bang'. For the sake of distinction when pronounced this way the *a* will be written *ā*.

ă, usually printed *a*, is the same as *ā*, only a shorter sound.

ē is pronounced as *a* in the English 'bale', or the *e* in the Italian *ché*.

ĕ is identical with the *e* 'muet' of the French, and will throughout the book be signified by an apostrophe as *s'ndagina*.

ī as *ee* in 'beet'; e. g. *piasau* is pronounced as if spelt *pee-ar-sow*.

ĭ is pronounced as in 'pin'.

ō is pronounced as in 'bone' (high o).

ŏ, usually printed *o*, is pronounced as in the Malay word *tanjong*. This is an open or low *u* sound as the tongue is held a little farther away from the palate than with the closed or high *u* sound as in Malay *suku, buku, kuku, gula*.

ū and *u* are high as in 'boot' and Malay *suku*; cf. *walu, anu*.

ŭ. This is a most curious sound in a Malay language, as it is pronounced exactly as in the English 'mud'.

b, d, h, j, k, l, m, n, p, s, t are pronounced as in English.

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r is pronounced exactly as in Malay, i. e. by letting the breath into the hinder part of the tongue without making the uvula tremble; so it is an *uvular fricative*, no vibrative.

g is always pronounced as in *get* or *goose*.

y is pronounced as in 'yacht'.

au is pronounced as *ow* in 'cow'.

ai is pronounced as *i* in 'mice'.

ei is pronounced as *ay* in 'hay'.

eu is pronounced as $\bar{e}+u$, or as *eeuw* (century) in Dutch.

ng is pronounced as *ng* in 'singing'.

ch is pronounced as in *chari* (Mal.). It is more dental than the *ch* in English 'chase'.

The sign ' (hamza) denotes the abrupt setting in or stopping of the breath. In the vocabulary it is only printed when used as a final.

The Tidong dialects have no writing. Those who are sufficiently educated to write at all—and their numbers are very few indeed—employ the Malay language with the Arabic characters.

For the pronunciation of words a general rule can be made that the accent falls on the penultimate, as in Malay, Dayak, Javanese, Sundanese, &c.

ARTICLES.

There is no definite article in either dialect.

In Tarakan the word *sinan*, meaning one, is used as an indefinite article; it is never used in counting, where *isa* is always employed:

Malak aku piasau sinan, I ask for a coconut.

Salimpong[1] corresponding to the Malay *sa biji*, *sa buah*, &c.,

[1] In Malay, as in Burmese, Siamese, Japanese, and Chinese, 'there exists a set of specific and technical terms, called by the grammarians *numeral affixes*, some one or other of which is always used as a coefficient to the numeral, the term being selected according to the class under which the object falls.' The use of these terms will be best understood by comparing it with the analogous use in English of such phrases as 'so many head of cattle'; 'so many file of soldiers'; 'so many sail of ships'; 'so many stand of rifles.' (Maxwell's *Manual of the Malay Language*, p. 70.)

In Tarakan or Bolongan *limpong* and *simpong* are the only numeral coefficients which can be applied to any class of inanimate objects and all animate things except human beings, when *ansi* (Tar.) and *b'kra* (Bol.) are employed. 'These numeral coefficients are also found in Balinese, Achinese, Minang-kabau, Batak, Javanese, &c., which all belong to one family of languages.'—F.

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also takes the place of an indefinite article; *limpong* literally means a round thing, thence a unit—

balei sa limpong, a house (Malay, *sa buah rumah*).

Bolongan has no equivalent to *sinan*.

Its equivalent of *sa'limpong* is *simpong*: *rumah simpong* = *sa buah rumah*.

SUBSTANTIVES.

NUMBER.

The noun undergoes no change to denote the singular and plural number:

Tar.	Bol.
ulun baïs, a good man, or good men.	*ulun baï*^{s}, a good man, or good men.

Plural is also expressed by the words meaning many:

suang (Tar.), *rabong* (Bol.).

many men: *suang ulun* (Tar.), *rabong ulun* (Bol.).

This is intensified (but not usually if talking of persons) by reduplication:

Tinak da daka wang suang-suang (Tar.).
Sinadong d'aku wang rabong-rabong (Bol.).
Give me a great deal of money.

Ka-su-suang is used by some of the lower dialects instead of the reduplicated form.

The two 'numeral affixes' *ansi* (Tar.) and *b'kra* (Bol.), which mean 'person' or 'flesh', are generally used with the numeral in enumerating:

Sina ulun dua ansi (Tar.).
Nan ulun dua b'kra (Bol.).
There are two men. Literally: There are men—two persons.

GENDER.

There is no gender, only *sex* is distinguished by adding the words meaning male and female:

Tar.	Bol.
asu dalaki, a dog.	*asu laki*, a dog.
asu dinandu, a bitch.	*asu d'dor*, a bitch.

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These words signifying 'male' are applicable equally well to human beings, not as in Malay where a different word may be used.

CASE.

There are no case inflexions.

The genitive or possessive case is signified—

(1) By the words *yampuna* (Tar.), *simpunya* (Bol.), which correspond to the Malay *punya* or *yang 'mpunya*, lit. 'who owns':

daka yampuna balei, my house (Tar.).
aku simpunya rumah, my house (Bol.).

(2) By position, i.e. by placing the possessor after the thing possessed, again as in Malay:

my house—*balei daka* (Tar.).
rumah aku (Bol.).

(3) By suffixing the pronoun *na* (Tar.), *nia* (Bol.), equivalents of the Malay *nya*:

Sia makau maya iandu-na (Tar.).
Sa 'mpanau mŭngka dul-nia (Bol.).
He is walking with his wife.

The dative is expressed by the preposition *da*:

Tinak-mu gina da sia (Tar.).
Sinadong-mu inan da sa[a] (Bol.).
Give that to him.

The ablative meaning 'with' is expressed by the prepositions *maya* (Tar.), *mŭngka* (Bol.). *Da* is occasionally added after the prepositions *ambaya* (Tar.), *pada-pada* (Bol.):

Sia makau maya [or *ambaya*] (*da*) *dalaki-na* (Tar.).
Sa 'mpanau mŭngka [or *pada-pada*] (*da*) *laki-nia* (Bol.).
She is walking with her husband.

The ablative meaning 'from' is expressed by the prepositions *intad* [*da*] (Tar.), *nya* (Bol.):

intad da balei (Tar.),
nya rumah (Bol.),
from the house.

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The ablative meaning 'by' (Malay *oleh*) can only be expressed by a round-about phrase, e. g.:

This was done by the rajah.

Ini dibuat oleh[1] *rajah* (Mal.).

Tugus rajah gitu (lit.: This is the rajah's work) (Tar.).

K'nuat rajah inan (Bol.).

But the ablative is sometimes expressed by the position of the agent after the verb, as in Malay:

eaten by mice.

dimakan tikus (Mal.).

inakan tikus (Tar.).

kinuman b'labau (Bol.).

Tidong dialects being of a primitive nature, derivative nouns, especially abstract nouns, are seldom if ever used. Whenever, however, they are employed the ordinary prefixes and suffixes are used as in Malay.

E. g. *Ka-besar-an* (Mal.) meaning greatness (not size) could be expressed by *ka-tupal-an* (Tar.), *ka-raya-an* (Bol.).

Look at his greatness (his splendour).

Inilong-mu ka-tupal-an-na (Tar.).

T'nungal-mu ka-raya-an-nia (Bol.).

But if we had to express bodily size this would be the rendering:

Inilong-mu tupal ulun gina (Tar.).

T'nangal-mu raya ulun itu (Bol.).

which literally means: Look at that man's big(ness).

Verbal nouns are discussed under the heading of verbs.

ADJECTIVES.

Adjectives undergo no change to indicate either number, gender or case, as in Malay, &c.

The adjective ordinarily follows the substantive it qualifies:

a bad man—*ulun malat* (Tar.).

ulun b'jit (Bol.).

a black dog—*asu mitam* (Tar.).

asu mitam (Bol.).

[1] Literally the 'thing obtained', *oleh* being the verbal stem of *ber-oleh*, to get, to obtain.—F.

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But, as in Malay, it can also precede it, especially if there is any emphasis on the quality expressed:

That 's a good man—*Baïs ulun gina* (Tar.)
Baï^{s} *ulun inan* (Bol.).

COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES.

The *Comparative*, as in Malay, &c., is expressed—

(1) By the help of words signifying 'more' or 'less':

labih (Tar.), *l'bih* (Bol.), more; *korang* (Tar.), *korâng* (Bol.) less.
Gitu labih bais (Tar.),
Itu l'bih baï^{s} (Bol.),
itu lebih baik (Mal.).
This is better.

(2) By position:

Gitu baïs intad da anu gina (Tar.).
Itu baï^{s} *nya anu inan* (Bol.).
This is better than that.
Literally: This is good—than that (*nya* also=from).

The *Superlative* is expressed—

(1) By the words *kaninjulu* (Tar.), *t'ngan* (Bol.), following the adjective. These words are equivalent to the Malay *s'kali*.

Gitu baïs kaninjulu (Tar.),
Itu baï^{s} *t'ngan* (Bol.),
This is the best.

(2) By the periphrasis:

Gitu baïs intad da anu anda (Tar.).
Itu baï^{s} *nya anu inan* (Bol.).
This is the best of all.

Literally: This is good—in comparison with any other.

Pos.	Comp.	Superl.
tupal	*labih tupal*	*tupal kaninjulu* (Tar.).
rayah	*lĕbih rayah*	*rayah t'ngan* (Bol.).
bĕsar	*lĕbih besar*	*bĕsar s'kali* (or *ter-besar*) (Mal.).
dakolah	*lĕbih dakolah*	*dakolah täud* (Sulu).
great	greater	greatest (Eng.).

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NUMERALS.

It is in the ordinals that the languages of the Malay Archipelago show their Malay origin to a greater extent than in anything else. Communication for the purpose of trading tends to keep enumeration similar.

The following comparative table, including Buginese, the language of S. Celebes, and Sulu, the language of the natives of the Philippines, is interesting.

CARDINALS.

		Tidong.			
Eng.	Malay	Tarakan	Bolongan.	Buginese	Sulu
one	*satū*	*isa*	*isa*	*sidi*	*isa*
two	*dua*	*dua*	*dua*	*dua*	*dua*
three	*tiga*	*talu*	*t'lúh*	*tĕlu*	*tō*
four	*ampat*	*apat*	*'mpat*	*ĕpa*[2]	*opat*
five	*lima*	*limo*[1]	*lima*	*lima*	*lima*
six	*anam*	*anam*	*'nam*	*ĕnĕng*	*unom*
seven	*tujoh*	*tujuh*	*tujuh*	*pitu*	*pito*
eight	*dalapan*	*walu*	*walu*	*aruah*	*walu*
nine	*s'mbilan*	*siam*	*siam*	*asĕra*[2]	*siam*
ten	*sapuloh*	*sapuloh*	*sapuloh*	*s'puloh*	*hangpoh*

[1] Dr. Fokker suggests that this final *o* is pronounced as *aw* in the English words 'pshaw', 'raw', 'saw' (past of see). The sound is certainly more like this than an *o* sound, but the sound is far less broad. The breath is suddenly restrained, making the syllable exceedingly short.—M. B.

[2] It will be noticed that the Bugis for 'nine' is the same word as the Arabic for ten. The Arabs were the first traders among the Bugis, and it has been suggested to me that this probably arose from some nine Bugis articles of barter being worth ten of some Arab articles.—M. W. H. B.

The above suggestion seems hardly probable. Malay *dalapan* is nothing but *dua-alapan*, 'two taken from (ten)', as *sa'lapan* = *sa-'mbilan* means 'one taken from (ten)'. I think *a-ruah* (cf. Mal. *dua* = two) and *a-sĕra*[2] must have an analogous origin. Cf. so many other cognate languages. Dr. Matthes' *Boeginesche spraakkunst* and *Makassaarsche spraakkunst*.—F.

In a Malay, Buginese, and Arabic vocabulary in my possession this word is written أَسِرَا, but should be written أَسِيرَا. I heard the word pronounced thus in Western Borneo, where I had many Bugis people in my district.—F.

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Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
eleven	*sapuloh-isa*	*sapuloh-isa*
twelve	*sapuloh-dua*	*sapuloh-dua*
thirteen	*sapuloh-talu*	*sapuloh telúh*
fourteen	*sapuloh-apat*	*sapulo'mpat*
fifteen	*sapuloh-limo*	*sapuloh-lima*
sixteen	*sapuloh-anam*	*sapuloh-anam*
seventeen	*sapuloh-tujuh*	*sapuloh-tujuh*
eighteen	*sapuloh-walu*	*sapuloh-walu*
nineteen	*sapuloh-siam*	*sapuloh-siam*
twenty	*duampuloh*	*duampuloh*
twenty-one	*duampuloh-isa*	*duampuloh-isa*
thirty	*talumpuloh*	*tĕlumpuloh*
forty	*apatpuloh*	*'mpatpuloh*
fifty	*limompuloh*	*limampuloh*
sixty	*anampuloh*	*anampuloh*
seventy	*tujumpuloh*	*tujumpuloh*
eighty	*walumpuloh*	*walumpuloh*
ninety	*siampuloh*	*siampuloh*
one hundred	*sa-ratus*	*sa-ratus*
two hundred	*dua-ratus*	*dua-ratus*
two hundred and one	*dua-ratus-isa*	*dua-ratus-isa*
three hundred	*talu-ratus*	*telu-ratus*
five hundred	*lima-ratus*	*lima-ratus*
1,000	*sa-ribu*	*sa-ribu*
10,000	*sa-puloh-ribu*	*sa-puloh-ribu*
100,000	*sa-laksa*	*sa-koyan*[1]
1,000,000	*sa-mŭlion* (Dutch) *sa-ratus laksa*	*sa-ratus koyan* *sa-mŭlion*

ORDINALS.

The ordinals are formed from the cardinals exactly as in Malay :

Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
first	(*anu*) *ka-isa*	(*anu*) *pertama* (Mal.) *ka-simpong* (seldom used).

[1] Malay *koyan* = 40 *kati* in weight in the Straits. With the Dutch it is 30 *kati*.—F.

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Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
second	*ka-dua*	*ka-dua*
third	*ka-talu*	*ka-t'luh*
fourth	*ka-apat*	*ka-'mpat*
fifth	*ka-lima*	*ka-lima*
sixth	*ka-anam*	*ka-'nam*
seventh	*ka-tujuh*	*ka-tujuh*
eighth	*ka-walu*	*ka-walu*
ninth	*ka-siam*	*ka-siam*
tenth	*ka-sapuloh*	*ka-sapuloh*

Similarly, all the other ordinals are formed by prefixing *ka* to the cardinal, exactly as in Malay.

anu placed before an ordinal takes the place of a definite article, as *yang* in Malay, or *iu* in Sulu.

Fractional Numbers.

Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
a quarter	*sa suku*	*sa suku*
a half	*s'tangah*	*s'tengár*
three quarters	*talu suku*	*t'luh suku*

PRONOUNS.

Personal.

Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
I, me	*daka, aku, ku*	*aku, ku*

Ku is never placed (in either dialect) first in a sentence, but always follows a verb; so we may consider it as a possessive pronoun:

Guang-ku malang.	*Agi-ku tingidi.*
I want to sleep.	I want to sleep.

i. e. My want is to sleep.

Ku cannot be used to mean 'me'. It is always to be taken as a non-emphatic possessive pronoun.

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Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
we, us	*dama*	*kami*
you, thou	*dudu, mu, ka*	*ika, kah, mu*[1]

Mu, ka and *kah* are seldom used except with a verb in the imperative mood:

Mindau-mu s'ndagitu (Tar.).
Dibai kah batitu (Bol.).
Go down now.

ye	*muyu*		*kikam*	
he, she, it	*sia*, or *na* following the		*sa*^{s} or *nia* following the	
they	*ila*	[verb	*sida*	[verb

In speaking, or addressing a person of rank, or a European, or any one of authority, the person's rank is used instead of the personal pronoun.

Possessive Pronouns.

These are formed by adding the words *yampuna* (Tar.), *simpunya* (Bol.), to the ordinary pronouns of the first, second, and third persons:

Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
my, mine	*daka, aku yampuna*	*aku simpunya*
thy, thine	*dudu, yampuna*	*ika, kah simpunya*
his, hers, its	*sia yampuna*	*sa*^{s} *simpunya*
ours	*dama yampuna*	*kami simpunya*
yours	*muyu yampuna*	*kikam simpunya*
theirs	*ila yampuna*	*sida simpunya*

For the alternative method of expressing possession vide supra on 'Possessive case'.

[1] In the Bolongan dialect when the verb ends in a vowel, in the imperative *m* is sometimes added to signify the second person. It is really a shortened form of *mu*. Thus *tinanda-mu*, 'make thou a mark!' may be shortened into *tinandăm*.—M. W. H. B.

Javanese has a similar use in the Rembang dialect, e. g. *jĕnĕngm*, 'your name,' for *jĕnĕng-mu*, 'name of you.'—F.

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DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
this, these	*gitu*	*itu*
that, those	*gina*	*inan*

These pronouns, when used attributively, follow the noun they point out:

balei gina (Tar.).
rumah inan (Bol.).
that house.

But their positions are often reversed if the noun is pointed out in an emphatic way, i.e. when the pronoun is used predicatively:

That is the house.	This is he.
Gina nia balei (Tar.).	*Gitu nia sia* (Tar.).
Inan na rumah (Bol.).	*Itu na sa*^{a} (Bol.).

S'ndagina, s'ndagitu (Tar.), *batinan, batitu* (Bol.), meaning 'like that' and 'like this', when followed by an adjective, have the sense of a demonstrative pronoun:

He ran so fast (with so great speed) that he won.
S'ndagina nia tikas menturus, manang sia (Tar.).
B'tinan na sa^{a} *t'gar bagimpar, sa*^{a} *m'nāng* (Bol.).

REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

are formed by adding to the personal pronoun the words *kabatit* (Tar.), *kadiri* (Bol.), meaning 'self', and corresponding to the Malay *s'ndiri:*

He himself—*sia kabatit* (Tar.), *sa*^{a} *kadiri* (Bol.).
Sia n'galan tinak da badan-na kabatit (Tar.).
Sa^{a} *mali sinadong badan-nia kadiri* (Bol.).
He bought it for himself.
Literally: He bought it to give to his own body.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
who?	*si?*	*sin?*
which?	*manaï?*	*ma*^{a} *?*
what?	*nusaï? nu?*	*nun?*

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Who is that?

Si gina? (Tar.). *Si ginaï* is often used.
Sin inan? (Bol.).

Here are two dogs: which do you want?

Gitu asu dua limpong: manaï kah guang dudu? (Tar.).
Itu asu dua limpong: ma' ka' agi d'mpa'm? (Bol.).

What have you done?

Nusaï tinugus dudu? (Tar.).
Nun k'nuat ika? (Bol.).[1]

Relative Pronouns.

Who, what, which, that, are all expressed by the one word *anu*, which is the same in both dialects:[2]

The man who spoke.

Ulun anu ngandagu (Tar.).
Ulun anu ngantusul (Bol.).

But in speaking colloquially the relative is often left out entirely, especially in the Bolongan dialect.[3]

Compound Relatives.

Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
whoever, whosoever	*si-si*	*sin-sin*
whichever, whichsoever	*manaï-manaï*	*ma'-ma'*
whatever, whatsoever	*nusaï-nusaï*	*nun-nun*

Take whichever you like.

'nalap-nu manaï-manaï anu guang (Tar.).
'nalap-mu ma'-ma' ka' d'mpam (Bol.).

[1] Exactly as in Malay the adding of the interrogative adverb *kah* intensifies the question.

[2] *Anu* and *nu* occur in Sundanese, the language of Western Java, in exactly the same sense. Cf. Mal. and Dayak *anu*, a 'quidam'.—F.

[3] As in Malay:

Baju saya pakai s'malam.
The jacket I wore last night (yesterday).—F.

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Indefinite Pronouns.

None, naught, has to be expressed by periphrasis:

None are good.
Nupa kamud anu baïs (Tar.).
Kila nan anu baï[a] (Bol.).
Literally: There are not who are good.

Any in both dialects is *anu-anu*:

There aren't any.
Nupa kamud anu-anu (Tar.).
Kila nan anu-anu (Bol.).

Some[1] is expressed by periphrasis:

Sina anu guang sina anu nupa (Tar.).
Nan anu d'mpa[a] *nan anu kila* (Bol.).
Some like it, some don't.
Literally: There are who like it, there are who do not.

Each is expressed by *dua-dua* in both dialects. Literally: two-two, hence = both:

Dua-dua baïs (Tar.).
Dua-dua baï[a] (Bol.).
Each is good.

Every is expressed by *kangangdi* or *k'ngai* (Tar.), *kamisa* (Bol.), meaning all:

Everyone likes (all men like).
Ulun kanangai [*k'ngai*] *guang* (Tar.).
Ulun kamisa d'mpa[a] (Bol.).

Other = *anda* (Tar). *lain* (Bol.):
Daka ngalap anu gitu, dudu ngalap anu anda (Tar.).
Aku ngalap anu itu, ika ngalap anu lain (Bol.).
I take the one, you the other.

Else as in 'what else?' is expressed by *baga* (Tar.), *b'ru* (Bol.), which means 'new', 'afresh':

[1] Cf. Malay, *ada yang*; Latin, *sunt qui*; Greek, εἰσὶν οἱ.

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What else do you want?
Nusaï bagu? (Tar.).
Nun b'ru? (Bol.).
Apa lagi? (Mal.).

VERBS.

The rules for verbs are identical in both dialects. Verbs are of two classes.

(*a*) Simple intransitive verbs which admit of no inflexion.

(*b*) Transitive verbs, both simple, and those derived from nouns, adjectives and other verbs, which do admit of a certain amount of inflexion.

A. Simple intransitive verbs.

Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
To walk	*makau*	*'mpanau*
To wait	*dinai*	*nini.*

NUMBER AND PERSON.

Number and person are distinguished by the personal pronouns.

TENSES.

There are no tenses: present, future, and past are distinguished by means of adverbs or by other verbs:

Mindau = to descend.

PRESENT.

Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
I descend	*Daka mindau*[1]	*Aku dibai*
Thou descendest	*Dudu mindau*	*Ika dibai*
He descends	*Sia mindau*	*Sa*[a] *dibai*
We descend	*Dama mindau*	*Kami dibai*
Ye descend	*Muyu mindau*	*Kikam dibai*
They descend	*Ila mindau*	*Sida dibai.*

The future is formed by the use of the auxiliaries *guang* (Tar.),

[1] *Mindau* must be felt as an intransitive, being formed with the prefix *m*(*a*), like so many words in Javanese, Sund., &c. In Malay

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agi (Bol.), meaning 'wish' or 'will' and corresponding to the Malay 'mau', *handak:*

Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
I will, or want to, descend	*Daka guang mindau* *Guang ka mindau*	*Aku agi dibai*
Thou wilt descend	*Dudu guang mindau*	*Ika agi dibai*
He will descend	*Sia guang mindau*	*Sah agi dibai*
We will descend	*Dama guang mindau*	*Kami agi dibai*
Ye will descend	*Muyu guang mindau*	*Kikam agi dibai*
They will descend	*Ila guang mindau*	*Sida agi dibai*

Another way of expressing the future is by *dinai* (Tar.), *nini* (Bol.), meaning 'wait' and thence 'presently'. This is identical with the Malay use of *nanti:*

Nanti aku turun (Mal.).
Dinai aku mindau (Tar.).
Nini aku dibai (Bol.).
Presently I descend: i. e. I will descend.

The past tense is expressed by the use of the auxiliary *pŭngur* (Tar.), *pupus* (Bol.), which is equivalent to the Malay *sudah*, and means 'done':

I have descended.
Pŭngur aku mindau (Tar.).
Daka pŭngur mindau (Tar.).
Pupus aku dibai (Bol.).

this affix is sporadic, and not to be confounded with the transitive prefix *mĕ*:
m|asuk, to go in. Cf. Sund. and Jav. *asuk* and *sok*.
m|udik, to go up a river. Cf. *udik* = *b'lakang* or: highland, interior, and Sund. *udik*, the opposite of *ilir*.
muntah, to vomit. Cf. Dayak, *uta*, &c.
m|asam, to be sour.
m|asin, to be salt.
m|anis, to be sweet.
m|asak, to be cooked, or ripe.
The sporadic infix *ĕm* has an identical meaning:
gĕmuroh, to thunder.
gĕmilang, to glitter.

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MOODS.

Imperative Mood of Simple Intransitive Verbs:

Descend! (sing.) *mindau-mu*	Tar.	*Dibai ika*	Bol.
Descend! (pl.) *mindau muyu*		*Dibai kikam.*	

The expletive *nia* (Tar.), *na* (Bol.), are sometimes added for the sake of emphasis, as the *lah* in Malay, both originally meaning *already*, like the Malay equivalent:

Mindau nia ka (Tar.).[1]
Dibai na ika (Bol.).
Turun lah 'ngkau (Mal.),
Get down you!

N.B.—Tarakan *nia* becomes *ni* when immediately followed by the particle *ki* (Bol. *ka'*), which marks a question: *Pungur ni ki?* Is it finished? (cf. p. 44.)

The conditional mood is expressed by means of the use of a conditional conjunction with the ordinary indicative; and the conjunctive is formed in a similar manner:

If you had gone up I should have been angry.
Ka dudu pŭngur masak m'ngitan aku (Tar.).
Ka ika pupus sabi bising[2] *aku* (Bol.),

In order that I may go up.
Ka daka kalap masak (Tar.).
Ka aku kilom sabi (Bol.).

B. SIMPLE TRANSITIVE VERBS, AND THOSE DERIVED FROM NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, ADVERBS, AND OTHER VERBS.

These are of two classes—

(*a*) Those which do not change the initial letter in forming the

[1] Dr. Fokker suggests that this literally means 'your-getting-down be' (the getting down of you), so that *nia* and *na* would be the same particles as in *Gina nia balei* (Tar.), *inan na rumah* (Bol.). *Vide supra* demon. pron., p. 28; cf. *dangar lah oleh-mu* = listen! i.e. 'hearing be your getting' (*ber-oleh*, to get, obtain).

[2] It is interesting to note in the Bolongan dialect how an ordinary Malay word like *bising*, which means 'to make a noise', comes to change its meaning to *marah*, 'to be angry.' Presumably silent wrath is not a quality of the Tidongs.—M. W. H. B.

In Malay *bising* = 'giddiness by noise', which meaning can easily develop into aggravation or wrath by other disagreeable influences.—F.

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imperfective or durative form of the active (which form denotes *duration, habit*, or intention).

(*b*) Those which *do* change the initial.

All these verbs form their indicative in exactly the same way as those in class A : i. e. by the use of auxiliaries.

As these verbs form their imperative active and their passive in the same manner, these two forms can be treated of together.

(*a*) *Those verbs which do not change the initial letter.*

These verbs take the prefix *nga(n-)* before them in 'the active' (*ng'* before a vowel).

Before *b* they take *ngam : ngam-badi*, to abuse; *ngam-busai*, to paddle (Tar.); and also occasionally before *p : ngam-puki*, to abuse (Bol.).

Before *ch* they take *ngañ*.[1] *ngañ-choba*, to try (Tar.); *ngañ-chŏbu*, to make water (Bol.). See, however, p. 35.

Before *t* they take *ngan : ngan-tusul*, to speak (Bol.); *ngan-tugus*, to work (Tar.); *ngan-takau*, to steal; *ngan-tana*, to question.

To give a general rule for finding out those verbs whose initials remain unchanged is hardly possible. We may, however, hold in view that—

g, *r* remain;
l remains;
j, *d* remain;
and *b* remains but sometimes changes; *ch* may change or remain; *s* may remain.

To form the imperative active and the passive of these verbs, the imperfective active prefix is dropped and the particles *ina* and *in* are either—

	Imperf. act.	Imperative act. and Passive (all forms).
(1) *Prefixed :* e. g.	*nga-rampas*	*ina-rampas* (rob! and robbed).
	nga-likut	*ina-likut* (bind! and bound).

[1] This *ñ* the English and Dutch pronounce (but write with an *n*) in the common word 'launch'. Cf. Javanese, Balinese, Malay, &c.—F.

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(2) or *Infixed:* i. e. inserted between the initial consonant and the rest of the verbal stem:

Imperf. form act.	Imperative act. and passive.
nga-gamon	*g-in-amon* (hold! and held).
nga-jawal	*j-in-awal* (lose! and lost).
ngam-busai	*b-in-usai* (paddle! and paddled).
ngan-takau	*t-in-akau* (steal! and stolen).
ngan-tugus	*t-in-ugus* (work![1] and worked).
nga-gilir	*g-in-ilir* (grind! and ground).

(*b*) *Those which do change the initial.*

The initial consonant is *changed* to form the imperfective form of the active. For the imper. act. and the passive, the *in* (before a vowel) and the *ina* (before a consonant), are *infixed* between the changed consonant and the rest of the verbal stem. The initial consonants are changed according to the following rules:

ʔ[2] and *k* change into *ng* in the imperfective form active: e. g. *ʾibit* (bring) forms active *ngibit* and imper. act. and all forms of the passive *ʾin-ibit*, the particle *in* being infixed between the *hamzah*, which is regarded as a consonant, and the verbal stem. Likewise *ʾangkat, ngangkat, in-angkat; ʾasu, ngasu, in-asu.*

Kirim (send) becomes in the active *ngirim* and in imp. act. and passive *k-in-irim*, the particle *in*, as before, being infixed between the initial (*k*) and the rest of the verbal stem (*irim*).

ch may change into *ny: champur* (mix), act., *nyampur;* pass. *s-in-ampur*;[3] comp., however, (*a*).

s may change into *ny*. Thus: *sanggal* (hold) becomes in the active *nyanggal*, and in imperative act. and passive *s-in-anggal*. So *salasai* (settle) makes *nyalasai* and *s-in-alasai*. *t* mostly changes into *n: todong* (cover), act. *nodong;* pass. *t-in-odong*.

[1] Cf. Javanese:

kirim	*kinirim* (sent),
tuku	*tinuku* (bought)
angkat	*ing-angkat* (carried).—F.

[2] What the Arabian grammarians call hamzah is nothing but the spiritus lenis of the Greeks; the abrupt stopping of the breath we Europeans never write at the end of a word. The Greeks did at the beginning, but there it denotes a *voiced* consonant, whereas at the end of a word it is surd, like all other finals in Malay.—F.

[3] I have noticed that a Tidong makes little or no difference between his

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p changes to *m*: *pumpas* (enter), act. *mumpas*, pass. *p-in-umpas*; *b* may become *m* too: *binsang* (tear), act. *minsang*, pass. *b-in-insang*.

So most tenues change into the corresponding nasal; mediae and liquidae remain unchanged, except some few cases.

The passive can sometimes be expressed by means of the auxiliary *pilat* (Tar.), *siwan* (Bol.); the equivalents of the Malay *kena*:

Dia kena bunoh (Mal.).
Sia pilat patai (Tar.).
Sa^{a} *siwan bunoh* (Bol.).
He was murdered (literally: incurred murder).

Past Participle Passive.

The past participle passive is only occasionally used. It is formed by prefixing *ta* or *ka* to the verbal stem, the initial being retained:

kalap, to obtain.	*ka-kalap*, obtained (Tar.).
nyukab, to open.	*ka-sukab*, opened (Tar.).
ngan-dagu, to speak.	*ta-dagu*, spoken (Tar.).
kilom, to obtain.	*ta-kilom*, obtained (Bol.).
ngan-tana, to question.	*ta-antana*, questioned (Bol.).
ngan-tusul, to speak.	*ta-tusul*, spoken about (Bol.).

Verbs formed from Nouns.

Verbs are formed from nouns by prefixing *ng'*, *nga*, *ngan*, *ngañ*, *ngam*, according to the rules given above (*vide supra*, page 34), to the noun in question.

Noun.	*Verb.*
asu, a dog.	*ng-asu*, to hunt (Tar.).
wakil, an agent.	*nga-wakil*, to make an agent (Tar. and Bol.).
jamin, bail.	*nga-jamin*, to go bail (Tar. and Bol.).

Verbs formed from Adjectives and Adverbs.

Verbs formed from adjectives or adverbs make all tenses of the indicative active by prefixing the particle *pa* to the adjective or adverb. These verbs are all transitive.

pronunciation of *s* and *ch*. This may therefore very well be *ch-in-ampur*. But cf. *chermin* (Mal.), *saramin* (Tar.).—M. W. H. B.

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Their imperative active and their passive tenses are formed by infixing the particle *in* immediately after the initial *p*; by dropping the *a* after it besides, when the underived word begins with a vowel:

Adjective.	Verb indic. act.	Imper. act. and indic. pass.	
(near)	(make near).		
ingkad (Tar.)	*pa-ingkad*	*piningkad*	*pin-ingkad.*
tumbal (Bol.)	*pa-tumbal*	*pina-tumbal*	*pina-tumbal*
(bold)			
siŭg (Tar.)	*pa-siŭg*	*pina-siŭg*	*pina-siŭg.*
kangar (Bol.)	*pa-kangar*	*pina-kangar*	
(broad)			
luas (Tar.)	*pa-luas*	*pina-luas*	
raya (Bol.)	*pa-raya*	*pina-raya*	
(alike)			
'nggilud (Tar.)	*pa-ng-gilud*	*pina-ng-gilud*	
'mpada (Bol.)	*pa-'m-pada*	*pina-'m-pada*	
(bad)			
malat (Tar.)	*pa-malat*	*pina-malat*	
b'git (Bol.)	*pa-b'git*	*pina-b'git*	
(old)			
tuo (Tar.)	*pa-tuo*	*pina-tuo*	
tua^{a} (Bol.)	*pa-tua*^{a}	*pina-tua*^{a}	

A syllable is sometimes dropped for the sake of convenience:

(naked)		
int'labas (Tar.)	*pa-t'labas*	*p(in)a-t'labas.*[1]

Transitive and Causative Verbs formed from Other Verbs.

Transitive and causative verbs are formed from other verbs by the same principle of adding *pa* indicative and *pin* and *pina* imperative active and indicative passive.

[1] This is probably *ănt'labas*, a common collateral form of *t'labas*. Cf. Mal. *timun*, a cucumber; *ĕntimun*, the same.—F.

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The same rules of formation apply as set forth on pages 34-6; *b*, however, occasionally changes into *m*:[1]

ngantapu^{s} (Tar.)	*pa-tapu*^{s}	*pina-tapu*^{s}
napu^{s} (Bol.)	*pa-tapu*^{s}	*pina-tapu*^{s}
to hide (trans.)	to conceal	concealed (or imp. act.)
makau (Tar.)	*pa-lakau*[2]	*pina-lakau*
ngampanau (Bol.)	*pa-panau*	*pina-panau*
to go	to make go (send)	sent (or imp. act.)
mindau (Tar.)	*pa-pindau*	*pina-pindau* or *pinindau*
dibai (Bol.)	*pa-dibai*	*pina-dibai*
to descend	to send down	sent down (or imp. act.)
kalap (Tar.)	*pa-kalap*	*pina-kalap*
kilom (Bol.)	*pa-kilom*	*pina-kilom*
to be able	to make possible	made possible (or imp. act.)
jadi (Tar.)	*pa-jadi*	*pin-'n-jadi*
jadi (Bol.)	*pa-jadi*	*pina-jadi*
to become	to cause to become	caused to become (or imp. act.)
matai (Tar.)	*pa-patai*	*pina-patai*
matai (Bol.)	*pa-patai*	*pina-patai*
to die	to kill	killed (or imp. act.)
moyag (Tar.)	*pa-boyag*	*pina-boyag*
mulun (Bol.)	*pa-mulun*	*pina-mulun*
to live	to make alive	made alive (or imp. act.)
mabas (Tar.)	*pa-babas*	*pina-babas*
marbas (Bol.)	*pa-barbas*	*pina-barbas*
to be adrift	to cast adrift	cast adrift (or imp. act.)

[1] This occurs in Sundanese too; there even *d* is sometimes replaced by *n*, just as is done with the tenuis *t*.—F.

[2] This strange lengthening of the stem with *la* may be explained by an older form of *makau*: **lumakau*, of which the former may be an abbreviation. Compare so many irregularities in the verb *to go* in other languages (Engl., Dutch, Roman languages, Greek, Sanskr., &c.). Comp. also Jav. *m'laku* = *lumaku*, to go (from stem *laku*) and Malay *b'rlaku*, to be current, to behave.—F.

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nginum (Tar.)	*pa-inum*	*pin-ĕninum* or *pininum*
ngirop (Bol.)	*pa-irop*	*pin-irop*
to drink	to cause to drink	caused to be drunk (or imp. act.)
ngakan (Tar.)	*pa-akan*	*pin'-akan*
kuman (Bol.)	*pa-kuman*	*pina-kuman*
to eat	to cause to eat	caused to be eaten (or imp. act.)
lumasub (Tar.)[1]	*pa-lasub*	*pina-lasub*
marap (Bol.)	*pa-parap*	*pina-parap*
to sink	to cause to sink	caused to have sunk (or imp. act.)

Verbal Nouns.

Verbal nouns, though seldom used, are formed in exactly the same way as the Malay and use the Malay prefix. They are of quite modern description.

Cf. Tar. 'a corkscrew' from *nyukab*, to open: *pĕ-nyukab*.

AUXILIARY VERBS.

These are:

Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
is, was, are, were	*sina*[2]	*nan*
was, did, has been	*pungur*	*pupus*
will, shall, would, must	*guang*	*agi*
let, allow	*bia*	*kin.*

ADVERBS.

Adverbs of Time.

Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
now	*s'ndagitu*	*batitu*
lately	*d'danaï*	*indu*
formerly	*gili, gulu*	*luan*

[1] In *kuman* the sporadically occurring infix *um* of intrans. verbs is no more felt as such, in *lumasub* it is still alive, and so thrown off in trans. derivations.—F.

[2] In the Tarakan dialect *kamud* is used instead of *sina*. This is idiomatic, and can only be used in the phrase in answering a question:

Nupa kamud.
(No) There aren't any.
Tiada (Mal.).

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Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
presently	*'njakin*	*nyambil*
not yet	*nupa pir*	*b'lum*
afterwards	*bangkulong*	*b'rokut*
		kamudian (Mal.).
early	*sumpul-sumpul*	*suboh-suboh* (Sul.).
to-morrow	*suab*	*sirib*
day after to-morrow	*suab-anda*	*dumpau*
2 days after (Lit. '3rd day')	*adau ka-talu*	*saban*
yesterday (Lit. 'day before')	*adau gulu*	*dau ngaluan*
when?	*s'nggilan?*	*midan?*

Adverbs of Place.

Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
here	*dagitu*	*diitu*
there	*dagina*	*didi*
nearly, near	*mingkad*	*tumbal*
outside	*lual*	*lual*
inside	*dalam*	*dalam*
across	*sembial*	*s'mbila*
far	*tawai*	*ju*
above	*sawat*	*s'mbau*
below	*disau*	*diba*
behind	*da bankulong*	*da b'rokut*
where?	(*da-*)*manaï?*	(*da-*)*ma*[a]*?*

Miscellaneous Adverbs.

Eng.		Tar.	Bol.
like this	thus, so	*s'ndagitu*	*batitu*
like that	thus, so	*s'ndagina*	*batinan*
how		*s'naï*	*bat'nun*
how much, how many		*takula*	*kuda*
yes[1]		—	—

[1] The equivalent of *ia* (Mal.), meaning 'yes', cannot be expressed in writing in either dialect. It is made by closing the lips and making an *m* sound not unlike a lazy 'grunt of assent in English'. In the Simbakong dialect it is *mau*.

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Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
no, not (*bukan* M.)	*anda*	*lain*
only	*kiar*	*la'*
no (*tida'* M.)	*nupa*	*kila*
certainly	*tantu*	*t'ntu*
why?	*kaïpa', kandï?*	*main?*
also, too	*pa'*	*gah*

PREPOSITIONS.

Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
at	*da*	*da*
to	*da*	*da, ka*
from	*intad*	*nya* or *m'nya*
with	*maya, ambaya*	*mungka, pada-pada*

As in Malay, other words or phrases of the nature of prepositions can be formed by compounding these prepositions with other words.

Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
on the top of / to the top of	*da-sawat*	*da-s'mbau*
from the top of	*intad-da-sawat*	*nya-s'mbau*

CONJUNCTIONS.

Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
and	*maya*	*m'nya, mungka*
if	*jika, ka*	*jika, ka*
perhaps (*'ntah* Mal.)	*intau*	—
in order that	*sapaya*	*sapaya*
because	*sābap*	*s'bap*
and, also	*serta*	*serta*
or	*atau*	*atau*
but	*tapi*	*t'tapi*
except	*m'lainkan*	*m'lainkan*
only	*saja*	*lah*
again	*bagu, pir*	*agi* (?) (Mal. *lagi*)
like	*saperti*	*saperti*

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INTERJECTIONS.

Eng.	Tar.	Bol.
Fie !	*dis*	*dis ! cheh !*
There now !	*ia*	*ia*
Alas !	*adoi*	*adoi*
Pity !	*masih*	*masih*
an expression of malevolence[1]		
(Malay) *sial !*	*sarau !*	*sarau !*

The ordinary Arabic expressions used by Malays and all followers of Muhammad are also used by the Tidongs.

SOME USEFUL PHRASES AND IDIOMATIC SENTENCES.

Don't leave me. (Let me not stay behind.)
Tar. *Sama aku maṗong.*
Bol. *Bagi aku t'mada.*

If you go, sir, I will follow.
Tar. *Jika tuan nakau guang-ku maya.*
Bol. *Jika tuan 'mpanau m'nya[2] aku.*

It is past three o'clock.
Tar. *Pukul talu gulu.*
Bol. *Titek t'luh ngaluan.*

I thought there were plenty, but there are not any.
Tar. *P'mikir-ku suang, t'tapi nuṗa kamud.*
Bol. *P'mikir-ku rabong, t'tapi kila nan.*

Give it to Iran.
Tar. *Tinak-mu gitu da Iran.*
Bol. *Sinadong-mu itu mungka si Iran.*

Who is that ?
Tar. *Si gina ?*
Bol. *Sin inan ?*

[1] To hit a Tidong with a broom would mean that you wished him all bad luck, and is equivalent to cursing him. The action would probably be accompanied by the expression *Sarau !* The natives consider this so deadly an insult that I have known of one having stabbed his teacher at Bolongan for acting in this way towards him.

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What has he done?
Tar. *Nusaï tinugus-na?*
Bol. *Nun kinuat-nya?*

There is not room for two here—the house is too small.
Tar. *Sampat balei gitu, nupa kalap dua ansi.*
Bol. *Simpit rumah itu, kila matang dua b'kra.*

They have gone to the village to buy fowls.
Tar. *Sia ulun pŭngur makau da pagun ngalan da manok.*
Bol. *Pupus-na sida 'mpanau da b'nua mali da ayam.*

In that case that's the end of it.
Tar. *Jika s'ndagina gina pŭngur-nia.*
Bol. *Jika batinan itu pupus-na.*

This is a clever fisherman.
Tar. *Ulun gitu pandai ngapan.*
Bol. *Ulun inan tau m'si.*

Do hurry up; we shall never get there.
Tar. *Tikas miting, ka s'ndagitu nupa kasabai.*
Bol. *D'ras kab'ni, ka batitu kila matang.*

Go and tell him now.
Tar. *Makau ka, s'ndagitu inambala-mu da sia.*
Bol. *M'panau ika, batitu pinatau-mu da sida.*

This durien is not yet ripe.
Tar. *Durian gitu imbula' pir.*
Bol. *Durian itu m'ntah agi.*

What is the use of talking? Do something.
Tar. *Nu kasiat ngandagu, bais ngantugus.*
Bol. *Nun kasiat ngantusul, bai' ngangkuat.*

He is my adopted son.
Tar. *Sia anak angkat-ku.*
Bol. *Sa' ane' angkat-ku.*

Throw the anchor; we are drifting.
Tar. *Binabŭl sauh, mabas damu.*
Bol. *Binuang sauh, ma'bas kami.*

His father, mother, brothers and sisters and all relations hate him.
Tar. *Iama-na, ina-na, iaka-na, iadi-na, p'nsulud k'ngai bansi da sia.*
Bol. *Iama-nia, sina-nia, singka-nia, sadi'-nia, p'radi-nia kamisa b'nchi da sa'.*

Poor fellow, I'm sorry for him.
Tar. *Masih da ulun gina.*
Bol. *Masih da ulun inan.*

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She is betrothed to the Pangiran.
Tar. *Sia batunang da Pangiran.*
Bol. *Sa² batunang mungka Pangiran.*

Look out, there 's a crocodile near you.
Tar. *Jaga ka, buyah mingkad.*
Bol. *Jaga ika buyah tumbal.*

I was terribly afraid because I met an elephant.
Tar. *Lala aku kapayang sábap intamu da iaki.*
Bol. *Rakat aku t'ngan s'bap aku bat'mu da gajah.*

The island of Simunu is three days' journey from here.
Tar. *Pulau Simunu tawai talu adau intad da gitu.*
Bol. *Pulau Simunu ju² t'lu² dau m'nya itu.*

Do you know where we are now?—No I don't.
Tar. *Sina muyu pandai da-manaï damu s'ndagitu?—Nupa pandai aku.*
Bol. *Nan kikam tau da-ma² kami batitu?—Kil 'aku tau.*

Don't go alone.
Tar. *Sama ka makau kabatit.*
Bol. *Bagi kah m'panau kadiri.*

A crocodile bit his leg.
Tar. *Tanak-na inabut buyah.*
Bol. *B'tis-nia kinikit buyah.*

There are heaps of mangusteens here.
Tar. *Da-gitu suang-suang manggis.*
Bol. *Da-itu rabong-rabong manggis.*

I must go and plant my padi.
Tar. *Daka guang makau ngantanam da bilŭd aku.*
Bol. *Aku agi m'panau ngantubus (da) padai.*

That 's the fellow I want.
Tar. *Gina ulun anu guang-ku.*
Bol. *Inan na ulun anu d'mpei-ku.*

His wife is more like a man than a woman.
Tar. *Iandu-na 'nggilŭd da laki tugus-na.*
Bol. *Dal-nia upah laki.*

Have you finished making those mats?
Tar. *Pŭngur ni ki ngantugus da ayam gina?*
Bol. *Pupus-na ka² ngangkuat (da) tikar inan?*

The mouse deer is the cleverest of animals.
Tar. *P'landu² gitu pandai intad da binatang anu anda.*
Bol. *P'landu² itu tau nya binatâng anu lain.*

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Have you heard how he outwitted the buffaloes?
Tar. *Pŭngur ni ki kadingug s'nai sia nipu da krabau?*
Bol. *Pupus ika na nanggla bat'nun sa[a] nipu da krabau?*

All right, but who is going to pay?
Tar. *Bais-nia, t'tapi si guang mayar?*
Bol. *Bai[a]-na, t'tapi sin agi mayar?*

Wretch, I should like to cut off your head.
Tar. *Duraka dudu! daka guang midis da utak-mu.*
Bol. *Ch'laka ika! aku agi nimpas uru-mu.*

He abused me, sir; it wasn't right of him.
Tar. *Sia ngambadi da daka, tuan; nupa patut.*
Bol. *Sa[a] ngampuki da aku, tuan; kila patut.*

We can sail there in twenty minutes.
Tar. *Dama kalap b'layar maya danaï dalam duampuloh minit.*
Bol. *Kami kilom b'layar mungka da-idi dalam duampuloh minit.*

The tide is on the ebb—let us wait till it flows and then row up stream.
Tar. *Timug murut, baïs dinaï ngalong da luab, bagu imbusai maya da daud.*
Bol. *Danum urut, baï[a] nini nunggoh da ruab, b'ru 'mb'sai da ulu.*

I am all alone, how can I do it?
Tar. *Daka kabatit kiar, s'naï kalap ngantugus gitu?*
Bol. *Aku kadiri la[a], bat'nun kilom ngangkuat itu?*

What's the matter now?
Tar. *Nusaï korang s'ndagitu?*
Bol. *Nun korâng batitu?*

Pooh! I don't believe it. (What a lie!)
Tar. *Labut-na!*
Bol. *Bŭjar-nia!*

The Datoh is to be married to-morrow.
Tar. *Datu[a] guang ngandu suab.*
Bol. *Datu[a] agi nindul sirip.*

There are many devils in the river.
Tar. *Suang imb'lua dalam sungai.*
Bol. *Rabong badua dalam sungai.*

I should like to speak to you, sir, don't be angry.
Tar. *Daka guang ngandagu da tuan, sama tuan m'ngitan.*
Bol. *Aku agi ngantusul da tuan, bagi tuan bising.*

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Can't you answer?
Tar. *Jinawab-mu?* (*Sinambong-mu.*)
Bol. *Jinawab-mu?*

Oh, Bujang Inang, there, he's love sick.
Tar. *Dis Bujang Inang gina, bēnan da dinandu sia.*
Bol. *Dis Bujang Inang inan, gila da d'dor sa*[a].

Beat the gong and call everyone.
Tar. *Tinitik-mu agong inalagau-mu ulun kanangai.*
Bol. *Tinitik-mu gong tinawal-mu ulun kamisa.*

That's all!
Tar. *Gina kiar!*
Bol. *Inan la*[a]*!*

What's your name?
Tar. *Si ingalan-mu?*
Bol. *Sin ada-mu?*

When there is rain there is much fever.
Tar. *Musim dasam suang dualan.*
Bol. *Musim hujan rabong t'rman.*

Wait till I come back.
Tar. *Dina daka kasabai.*
Bol. *Nini aku matang.*

Pity an old man eating a coconut.
Tar. *Masih da ulun tua ngakan da piasau.*
Bol. *Masih da ulun tua kuman (da) nior*[1].

It is dark; let us break the fast.
Tar. *Niat nia! bais 'buka puasa.'*
Bol. *Ritang na! bai*[a] *'buka puasa'*[2].

A Muhammadan cannot eat pork.
Tar. *Ulun Islam nupa kalap ngakan da ansi-bakas.*
Bol. *Ulun Islam kila kilom kuman da'nchi-baboi.*

He started a week ago, but has not got there yet.
Tar. *Tumungal nia sia tujuh adau gili, nupa pir kasabai.*
Bol. *B'rangkat na sa*[a] *tujuh dau luandu, b'lum agi matang.*

What news?
Tar. *Nu aga?*
Bol. *Nun habar* (Ar.)*?*

[1] *Nior* is the Malay word used in the Straits. It is never used in North Borneo colloquial Malay. This, like many other words, is a remnant of the introduction of Malay by pirates referred to in the Introduction.

[2] *Buka puasa* being an expression concerned with religion, the ordinary Malay is used.

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Who is that fellow?—call him.
Tar. *Si gina? inalagau da sia.*
Bol. *Sin inan? tinawal da sa^{a}.*

How much is this?
Tar. *Takula harga gitu?*
Bol. *Kuda harga itu?*

Bale! we are sinking.
Tar. *Tinimba-mu! karam dama.*
Bol. *Tinimbā-m! m'rap kami.*

Hold tight to the rudder, the waves are strong.
Tar. *Sinanggal-mu ulin mikang, tupal nawak.*
Bol. *Ginamon-mu kamudi t'gar, raya nyaba^{a}.*

He has pawned his parang.
Tar. *Sia pŭngur ngagadai gayang-na.*
Bol. *Sa^{a} pupus ngagadi m'ndau-nia.*

Don't make a noise, I want to go to sleep.
Tar. *Sama-mu biawan, guang-ku malang.*
Bol. *Bagi ka bising, aku agi tingidi.*

If you go to the right, you will see the window.
Tar. *Ka dudu makau maya pamagat, katada dudu jindēla* (Port.).
Bol. *Ka ika 'mpanau ka kanan, kat'mu ika jindēla* (Port.).

Will you come now or later? As you please, sir.
Tar. *Guang kasabai s'ndagitu atau dinei? Manaï ka guang, tuan.*
Bol. *Ika agi matang batitu atau nini? Ma^{a} ka d'mpa^{a}, tuan.*

How do you sell your gutta? At one dollar a cati.
Tar. *Takula harga ula-mu? Sinan ringgit sa kati.*
Bol. *Kuda harga lula-mu? Simpong ringgit sa kati.*

Be good enough to speak slowly.
Tar. *Kininyam-mu ngandagu lambat-lambat.*
Bol. *Chobā-m ngantusul halus-halus.*

Is it boiling yet?
Tar. *Sina j'muar ta'pir?*
Bol. *Nan babuèh b'lum agi?*

There are plenty of bananas in the fruit season.
Tar. *Musim-buah suang punti.*
Bol. *Musim-buah rabong pisāng.*

Let us go now, we are late already.
Tar. *Baïs makau s'ndagitu, buai nia!*
Bol. *Baï^{a} panau batitu, l'mbat na!*

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He left the village this morning.
Tar. *Sia makau intad da pagun sumpul.*
Bol. *Sa² 'mpanau nya b'nua suboh.*

Light a fire and cook the meat.
Tar. *Sinikit-mu d'apui, sinuban-mu daging.*
Bol. *Sinikit-mu apui, bakinche²-mu daging.*

To think that I should tell you a lie.
Tar. *Manaï daka ngandagu labut da dudu.*
Bol. *Ma² aku ngantusul bujar da ika.*

Cut it in halves and give one each.
Tar. *Binagi-mu dua, tinak-mu sinan-sinan.*
Bol. *Binagi-mu dua, sinadong-mu simpong-simpong.*

Mix salt with the rice.
Tar. *Sinampul-mu masin maya da nasi.*
Bol. *Chinampul-mu garam mŭngka nasi.*

It isn't that I don't want to come, but I am getting old and cannot walk.
Tar. *Bŭkan ka daka nupa guang kasabai, sabap daka tua², nupa kalap makau.*
Bol. *Lain aku kila d'mpar 'mpanau, s'bap aku tua na, kita matang 'mpanau.*

The rain has stopped.
Tar. *Dasam b'ranti nia.*
Bol. *Hujan br'nti na.*

Stop a moment.
Tar. *Dinei gulu.*
Bol. *Nini luan.*

It is so hot, I must bathe.
Tar. *Lasu nia! guang-ku m'njeu.*
Bol. *Panas! aku agi m'ndus*[1].

The mangrove is swarming with mosquitoes.
Tar. *Bakau gitu suang ngamok.*
Bol. *Bakau itu rabong ngamok.*

That's the first time I've ever heard it.
Tar. *Bagu aku kadingag sia.*
Bol. *B'ru aku nanggla sa².*

[1] Javanese *ādus*.—F.

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What do you think of this?
Tar. *Nusaï pikir-mu pasal gitu?*
Bol. *Nun pikir-mu pasal itu?*

All the clothes have been eaten by the mice.
Tar. *Gabal kanangai inakan tikus.*
Bol. *Ampi kamisa kinuman b'labau.*

Ahmat owes me five dollars and won't pay.
Tar. *Ahmat sina utang da daka lima ringgit—nupa sia guang mayar.*
Bol. *Ahmat nan utang da aku lima ringgit—kila sa' d'mpa' mayar.*

What 's his offence?
Tar. *Nusaï salah-naï?*
Bol. *Nun salah-nia?*

Where can I get the money to pay?
Tar. *Da-manaï daka kalap wang mayar?*
Bol. *Da-ma' ku kilom wang mayar?*

My wife has run away and left me nothing in the house.
Tar. *Iandu-ku midu nia, nupa kamud anu mapong dalam balei.*
Bol. *Dul-ku dareu, kila nan anu t'mada dalam rumah.*

They say there is a party of head-hunters up stream.
Tar. *Dagu-na sina ulun m'ngayau da daud.*
Bol. *Ibu-nia nan ulun m'ngayau da ulu.*

That was not the only thing he did.
Tar. *Bukan ka anu gina kiar tinugus-na.*
Bol. *Lain anu inan la' kinuat-nia.*

Alas! he is dead.
Tar. *Adoi! matai nia sia.*
Bol. *Adoi! matai na sa'.*

His words were incoherent.
Tar. *Dagu-na nupa tantu.*
Bol. *Ibu-nia kila t'ntu.*

Which way do we go now?
Tar. *Manaï makau s'ndagitu?*
Bol. *Ma'mpanau batitu?*

He was wounded in the thigh, but is nearly well now.
Tar. *Sia sina pilat da apa', t'tapi mingkad nia baïs s'ndagitu.*
Bol. *Sa siwan da pah-nia, tumbal baï' na batitu.*

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He was so sleepy that he went to bed.
Tar. *Sia s'ndagina kadandungal, sia makau malang.*
Bol. *Batinan na sa' katundun, sa' 'mpanau tingidi.*

Ask him what he wants.
Tar. *Inantana-mu da sia nu ka guang-nai.*
Bol. *Inantanya-m da sa' nun ka d'mpa'-nia.*

He's a good fellow, that; everybody likes him.
Tar. *Bais ulun gina; ulun kanangai guang da sia.*
Bol. *Bai' ulun inan; ulun kamisa d'mpa' sa'.*

I will send my clerk to accompany you.
Tar. *Daka guang ngirim da krani-ku maya da dudu.*
Bol. *Aku agi ngirim da krani-ku m'nya' da ika.*

The Imam thinks only of getting money.
Tar. *Imam gina pikir 'nggium da wang kiar.*
Bol. *Imam inan pikir agi ngangkulau da wang la'.*

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CHAPTER IV

THE TAILED MAN OF SILIMBATU

THE following story was told to me by a Tidong, a native of Silimbatu near Bolongon. The narrator obtained it from his father, who in turn heard it from his father.

Long ago, two days' journey to the interior of Silimbatu, there lived a man with his wife. Now this man was possessed of a tail very stiff and very sharp.[1] And one day he wanted to cut wood to build his prahu, and he said 'What can I do, I have no axe?' Then he thought he might cut the tree with his tail, but in vain. So he returned to his house and meeting his wife he ordered her to go to Silimbatu to purchase an axe. So she went, but did not wish to return. And after many days the husband followed her to Silimbatu, and when he had sought her out he questioned her as to why she had tarried so long. And she answered, 'It was not fair that you should send me, a woman, alone on so long a journey, therefore I was unwilling to return.' And the husband was angry, and with his tail he whipped the woman grievously until she was dead. So he returned whence he had come and lay down in his house to sleep. And there came to his house another woman, and he seized her, but she struggled and got loose from his embrace, and ran back to her husband. So the

[1] Men with tails have always been associated with Borneo. There is a large number of stories current amongst the natives, the only point of which, as in this one, is the reputed existence of a tailed man. That there is or has been a tribe with perhaps an elongated coccyx is quite possible. Penghulu Arsat, a Tutong chief who lived in Labuan, said that he could take me to these tailed men in a month—that when he was a child he was frequently among them—that they lived near the source of the Limbang River—that their tails were about 3 or 4 inches long ordinarily, but sometimes even reached the length of 7 inches—that they carried about with them little stools with holes in them, into which the tail fitted when they sat down! He even gave me the names of some of their chiefs. I never had an opportunity of testing the truth of the story.

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tailed man, fearing she would tell her husband, fled away and ran till even, when he laid him down to sleep at the foot of a great tree. But the woman's husband followed him, and came upon him there and questioned him as to why he had seized his wife. And he answered, 'Did not the woman love me and seek to kiss me first?' But the husband was angry and made as if to kill him, but lo! he vanished away into the air. And the husband was astounded and sought for him for the space of three days, only returning home each evening when the sun had set. But the tailed man was meantime at home in his house. Yet eventually the husband sought for him in his own home, and there he found him lying asleep. And he made as if to clasp him in his arms, so that he should not again vanish away, but observed not his adversary's sharp tail, which pierced into his breast, so that he died. And there he lay beside the tailed man who had not even awakened.

And presently the woman came again and beheld the two lying together—the one alive and the other dead. But she knew not that her husband was no more, and she said, 'Lo these men whom I thought enemies are friends!' and she made haste to awaken her husband. And when he awoke not she roused the slumberer by his side, who, when he awakened, exclaimed, 'Why is this man here?' Then saw he the wound in his breast and knew all, and the woman he seized and took her to wife.

The above story as told me in the Tarakan dialect.

ULUN BA-INGKUI.

Buai pŭngur, tawai dua adau intad da bibil[1] Silimbatu,[2] sina ulun sinan ansi[3] maya da iandu-na. Ulun gina sina ingkui mikang pa^{s}, ladam pa^{s} kaninjulu.[4] Pŭngur gina[5] sina sinan adau sia

[1] *bibil* means 'bank' of a river. Silimbatu, like all Tidong villages, is built upon the bank of a river. Comp. Mal. *bibir*, lip, rim.

[2] *Silimbatu* = the stone landing-place; *silim* = Malay *pangkalan* = a landing-place, *batu* = stone.

[3] *ansi*, the numeral affix applied only to human beings.

[4] *mikang pa^{s}, ladam pa^{s} kaninjulu.* Lit.: 'stiff too, sharp too, very,' i. e. 'both very sharp and stiff.'

[5] *Pŭngur gina* = *habis itu* (Mal.) = after that. This expression is very frequently used in connecting a narrative, even where the sense of consequence is not in the least intended.

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guang midis da taun ngantugus da padau—dagu-na: 'Snaĭ daka kalap midis da taun gitu, nupa kamud[1] kapak.' Pŭngur gina sia pikir guang sia midis da taun maya da inkui-na; nupa kalap. Pŭngur gina muli nia sia da balei-na, sinusub iandu-na[2] makau da Silimbatu ngalan da kapak.

Makau nia iandu-na kasabai da Silimbatu, nupa nia[3] sia guang muli bagu maya da damud.[4] Pŭngur nia mindau dalaki-na makau da Silimbatu, 'nggium da iandu-na, katada d'iandu-na, ngantana da sia 'Kaĭpa[5] dudu buai muli?' Iandu-na ngandagu 'Lala aku muli kabatit, nupa patut dudu palakau[6] daka kabatit.[6] Pŭngur gina m'ngitan dalaki-na, binambang[7] dalaki-na maya da inkui-na kasabai matai iandu-na. Pŭngur ginaĭ[8] muli nia bagu maya da balei-na guang malang. Pŭngur gina kasabai da balei-na dinandu anu anda, sinanggal-na nia[9] dinandu gina—dinandu gina ngapu da sia—labus nia dinandu gina, mulida balei-na ngambala da dalaki-na.

Pŭngur gina ulun ba-inkui gina midu intad da balei-na—jualap bagu sia malang da disau taun tupal, t'tapi ulun dalaki ginaĭ nyalugut da sia katada da disau taun—ngantana sia—'Kanai dudu ngandakap da iandu-ku?' Sinambong-na[10] 'Iandu-mu guang da daka, guang ngadak da daka gulu.' Pŭngur gina dalaki-na m'ngitan guang papatai[11] da sia—t'tag nia ulun ba-ingkui gina.[12] Kēran-nia ulun ginaĭ, 'nggium da sia talu adau, niat nia bagu muli,[13] t'tapi

[1] *nupa kamud* = there is not. *Kamud* can only be used with a negative.

[2] *sinosub iandu-na*. *Sinosub* is passive, from *nyusub*, to order. The expression is equivalent to the Malay *bini-nya di-suroh-nya*.

[3] *nupa nia*, *nia* is merely an intensive and equivalent to the Malay *lah*.

[4] *nupa nia sia guang muli bagu maya da damud*. Lit.: 'not at all does she want to return afresh and follow to the interior.'

[5] *palakau* = to cause me to go. Causative verb formed from *makau*, to go. *Vide* note 2, p. 38.

[6] *kabatit* = lit. 'myself', thence = 'alone.'

[7] *binambang* = passive from *mambang*, to strike.

[8] *ginaĭ*, colloquial for *gina*.

[9] *sinanggal*, passive from *nyanggal*.

[10] *sinambong-na* = *jawab-nya* (Mal.) = he answered. Not a passive form as 'I answer' = *daka sinambong*.

[11] *papatai*, a transitive verb signifying to 'cause to die', 'kill', from *matai*, to die.

[12] *t'tag nia ulun ba-inkuei gina* = Lo! the tailed man had vanished. Malay, *Lenyap lah orang ber-ekor itu*.

[13] *niat nia bagu muli* = *malam lah baru pulang* (Mal.).

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ulun ba-ingkui gina sina dalam balei. Pŭngur gina buai-buai[1] dalaki gina 'nggium da sia dalam balei-na, katada sia malang dagitu. Pŭngur gina sia guang nyanggal da ulun ba-ingkui gina, sama sia tatag bagu;[2] nupa katada ingkui-na. Bagu dinakap-na[3] m'njul pilat da ingkuei-na dalam tinai-na—m'njul matai—lamuid ingkad da ulun ba-ingkui.

Pŭngur gina kasabai bagu dinandu ginaï 'nggilong dua dua ulun lamuid sinan moyag, sinan matai—dagu-na 'Ulun gitu dangan-na atau tabug-na'[4]—guang pakadat[5] da dalaki-na—bagu 'nggilong dalaki-na matai. Pŭngur gina kadat ulun ba-ingkui gina ngantana da sia 'Kaïpa[a] ulun gitu sina dagitu?' Pŭngur gina katada da pilat da tinai-na bagu ngrati sia—dinandu gina sinanggal-na inalap-na jadi iandu-na.[6]

The same story translated into the Bolongan dialect.

L'mbat na[7], ju[a]-nia dua dau m'nya[a] bibir Silimbatu, nan ulun simpong b'kra[8] mŭngka dul-nia. Ulun inan nan ingkoi t'gar, tajam kangaluan. Pupus inan[9] nan simpong dau sa[a] agi nimpas kayu, agi ingkuat bidu—ibu-nia[10]—'Bat'nun aku agi nimpas kayu itu, kila nan kampe[a].'[11]

[1] *buai-buai*, cf. Malay *lama-lama* = 'after a long time', from which this expression seems copied.

[2] *sama sia tatag bagu*, 'lest he should vanish again'; *sama* means 'don't'.

[3] *dinakap*, passive from *ngadakap*.

[4] *Ulun gitu dangan-na atau tabug-na*, 'are these men friends or enemies?' It is rather difficult to translate this literally.

[5] *pakadat*, a causative verb formed from intrans. *kadat* = to awake.

[6] *dinandu gina sinanggal-na inalap-na jadi iandu-na*, 'the woman he seized and took her to wife.' Cf. Malay, *prampuan dipegang-nya di ambil-kan-nya jadi bini-nya*. *Sinanggal* is passive from *nyanggal; inalap* is passive from *ngalap*.

[7] *L'mbat na*. The Bolongan dialect is far more terse than the Tarakan. It will be noticed too in this story how much nearer it is to Malay, as pointed out in chap. ii.

[8] *b'kra*, note the numeral affix corresponding to *ansi* (Tar.).

[9] *Pupus inan* = *habis itu* (Mal.) = *Pŭngur gina* (Tar.) = after this. Stops are of course merely inserted for the sake of convenience.

[10] *ibu-nia*, *nia* and *na* have exactly the opposite meanings in the two dialects.

[11] *kila nan kampe[a]* = *tiada kapak* (Mal.).

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Pupus inan sa[a] bapikir agi nimpas kayu mŭngka ingkoi-nia ; kila kilom. Pupus inan muni na sa[a] da rumah-nia, sinuroh-nia[1] dul-nia 'mpanau ka Silimbatu mali kampe[a]. 'Mpanau na dul-nia matang ka Silimbatu, kila sa[a] d'mpa[a] muni ka sidaya agi.[2] Pupus na dibai bana-nia 'mpanau ka Silimbatu ngangkulau dul-nia—kat'mu dul-nia—ngantinya da sa[a] 'Main ika l'mbat muni?' Dul-nia ngantusul 'Rakat aku muni kadiri, kila patut ika papanau[3] d'aku kadiri.' Pupus inan, bising[4] bana-nia, binambăng bana-nia mŭngka ingkoi—lanjar matai dul-nia.

Pupus na muni sa[a] ka rumah, agi tingidi. Pupus inan matang ka rumah d'dor simpong b'kra anu lain—ginamon[5]-nia na d'dor inan—ngalawan da sa[a] d'dor inan—l'pas na d'dor inan, muni ka rumah-nia patau[6] da bana-nia.

Pupus inan ulun ba-ingkoi inan dareu nya rumah-nia—ritang b'ru sa[a] tingidi da diba kayu raya, t'tapi bana ulun d'dor inan ngagimpar da sa[a], kat'mu-nia da diba kayu—ngantinya sa[a] 'Main ika nakap dul-ku?'—ngajawab-nia 'Dul-mu d'mpa[a] d'aku, agi ngadak d'aku luandu.' Pupus inan bana-nia bising agi papatai[7] da sa[a]—jawal-na ulun ba-ingkoi inan—Kĕran na ulun inan, ngangkulau da sa[a] t'luh dau, ritang na b'ru muni—t'tapi ulun ba-ingkoi inan nan dalam rumah. Pupus inan l'mbat-l'mbat, bana inan ngangkulau da sa[a] dalam rumah-nia, kat'mu sa[a] tingidi ditu. Pupus inan sa[a] agi ngagamon da ulun ba-ingkoi inan bagi sa[a] jawal agi[8]—kila kat'mu inkoi-nia. B'ru tinakap[9]-nia—lanjar siwan da ingkoi-nia dalam butit-nia—lanjar matai—p'rubit s'gal ulun ba-ingkoi.[10] Pupus inan

[1] *sinuroh*, passive from *nyuroh*.

[2] *agi* = again, Mal. *lagi*. The sense alone can make this word distinguishable from *agi* = want, will.

[3] *papanau*, causative verb = 'cause to go'; formed from *'mpanau*.

[4] *bising* in Malay means 'noisy', and comes in Bol. to mean 'angry'. Cf. also *l'mbat*, Mal. = 'late' in Bol. = 'long' (of time). *Kat'mu* is obviously from Mal. *t'mu*, 'to meet'. Here it has come to be the equivalent of *nampak*, 'to perceive'. There are many other instances of Malay words having changed a shade of their meaning in Bol.

[5] *ginamon*, passive from *ngamon*, I hold.

[6] *patau* = 'to give to know', formed from *tau*.

[7] *papatai*, trans. verb = to kill, formed from *patai* = death.

[8] *bagi sa[a] jawal agi* = *sama sia tatag bagu*, Tar., where see note 2, p. 54.

[9] *tinakap*, passive from *nakap*.

[10] *p'rubit s'gal ulun ba-ingkoi* = *baring d'kat orang bĕr-ekor* (Mal.).

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matang sa[a] agi d'dor inan—n'ngal dua-dua p'rubit simpong mulun, simpong matai, ibu-nia 'Ulun itu ibal-nia atau lawan-nia,'[1] agi pabatun[2] da bana-nia—b'ru n'ngal bana-nia matai. Pupus inan batun ulun ba-ingkoi inan—ngantinya da sa[a] 'Main ulun itu nan ditu'? Pupus inan kat'mu da siwan da butit-nia, b'ru ngarti sa[a] —d'dor inan ginamon-nia, inalap-nia, kinuat-nia dul-nia.[3]

[1] *Ulun itu ibal-nia atau lawan-nia*, cf. note 4, p. 54, Tar., whereof this is the equivalent. *Lawan*, in Malay a verb meaning 'to oppose', here comes to be a noun meaning a 'foe', cf. note 4, p. 55.

[2] *pabatun*, trans. verb formed from *batun* = to awake.

[3] *d'dor inan ginamon-nia, inalap-nia kinuat-nia dul-nia'*, cf. note 6, p. 54, Tar.; *ginamon, vide supra*, note 5, p. 55; *inalap-nia, vide* Tar., note 6, p. 54.

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VOCABULARY

Remarks on the Vocabulary

1. All words which in both dialects are identically the same as Malay are omitted.

2. But such words, if they are ever so slightly different, are inserted.

3. Great care has been taken with each separate word, both as regards its exact meaning and as regards its exact spelling, according to the scheme of pronunciation presented on pp. 18, 19.

4. No word has been inserted without its having been repeated to the author several times by Tidong natives.

5. All verbs, except simple verbs which undergo no change, and those with *pa-*, are given in their imperfective form, the prefixes being printed in italics. In those verbs where the initial consonant is changed the original consonant is inserted in brackets after the verb.

6. To signify the sound caused by the abrupt cutting off of the breath the Arabic hamzah (ء) is used throughout, the final *k* being only inserted when it is actually heard.

7. The infix *-m-*, *-ĕm-*, *-am-*, or *-um-* is inserted in brackets, where the stem is also used separately.

English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
abandon (to)	*pa*-apong	*n*ada (*t*)	
abdomen	tinai	butit, t'nai	
able (be)	kălap	kilom	
abhor (to)	bansi	binchi(Mal. *b'nchi*)	
abode	baya'-(m)apong	s'gal-t'(m)ada	
above	da-sawat	da-s'mbau	
abscond (to)	midu	darēū	
absent	nupa kamŭd	kila nan	
absolve (to)	*ng*ampun (ء)	*ng*ampun	
abundant	suang	rabong	
abuse (to)	*ngam*badi [1]	*ngam*puki [1]	
accept (to)	*n*arima (*t*)	*n*arima (*t*) (*m'na-rima* Mal.)	
accompany (to)	maya	m'nya	
accomplice	dangan	ibal	
accomplish (to)	*nga*lisi	*nga*nggis	
accordingly	sabap gina	s'bap inan	

[1] *ngam*badi, *ngam*puki = to say the word for *pudendum muliebre*. Cf. the Malay common expression of abuse, *puki ma'*.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
accost (to)	*ngan*dagu	*ngan*tusul	
account (to)	*ng*ira (*k*)	*ng*ira (Mal. *m'ngira*) (*k*)	
accounts	kinira-kinira	kira-kira (Mal. id.)	
accumulate (to)	*n*imong (*t*)	*ng*umpul (Mal. *m'ngumpul*) (*k*)	
accurate	manang	t'ngan	
ache	duāl	p'das (Mal. id.)	
acknowledge (to)	*ng*akun (*ᵃ*)	*ng*akun (Mal. *m'ngaku*) (*ᵃ*)	
acquaint (to)	*pa*-pandai	*pa*-tau	
acquainted (to be)	pandai (Mal. clever)	tau (Mal. id)	
acquire (to)	kălap	kilom	
acquit (to)	*ng*alapas	*ng*al'pas	
across(athwart)	tababat	mabat (*b*)	
act (to)	*ngan*tugus	*ng*angkuat	
active	tikas	dras (Mal. id. = quick)	
add (to)	*ng*aduang	*n*amba (*t*)	
adept	ulun pandai	ulun tau	
adequate	gănap	g'nap (Mal. id.)	
adhere (to)	*ny*ikat (*s*)	*ny*ăkat (*s*)	
adjacent	mingkad	tumbal	
adjust (to)	*pa*-bāïs	*pa*-bāï[ᵃ] [1]	
admit (to) (enter)	*pa*-umpas	*pa*-pancha	
admit (to) (allow)	bia[ᵃ]	kin	
adopt (to)	*ng*angkat (*ᵃ*)	*ng*angkat[ᵃ] (Mal. *m'ngangkat*)	
adopted child	anak-angkat (Mal.)	ane[ᵃ]-angkat (Mal. *ana*[ᵃ] *angkat*)	
adorn (to)	[*see* 'adjust']		
adrift	mābas	mar'bás	
adrift (to cast)	*pa*-babas	*pa*-bás or *pa*-bar'bas	
adultery	jinah [2]	jinah [2]	
adversity	s'laka	duraka [3]	

[1] *pa-bāïs, pa-bāï*[ᵃ], *pa* being only a causative prefix, the accent falls on the second syllable.

[2] *jinah*, Sulu id. Arabic ﺯﻧﺎ. There is a sounded *h*, however, in the Tidong.

[3] *duraka*, in Malay, disobedient, disloyal.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
adze	patil	patil (Mal. id.)	
afar	tawai	ju[a]	
affiance (to)	*pa*-tunang	*pa*-tunang	
affright (to)	*pa*-lala	*pa*-rakat	
afloat	l(um)ampo[a]	tam'nal	
afraid	lala	rakat	
afresh	bagu	b'ru, b'lu	
after	da-bangkulong	da-b'rokut[1]	
again	pir	agi	
aged	tua[a]	tuah	
agent (guardian)	wakil	wakil	
agile	tikas	d'ras	
ago	gili	luandu	
agree	bajanji	bajanji[2]	
agreeable (nice)	lamak	l'ma[a]	
ague	dualan[3]	t'rman	
Ah!	adoi	adoi	
ahead	da-dolong	da-luan (Mal. *di alúan*)	
aim (*niat* Mal.)	niat, baniat	niat, baniat (Ar. نِيَّة)	
aim (to)	*n*uju[a] (*t*)	*n*uju (Mal. *m'nuju*)	
air	barēū	barēū	
alarmed	takajut	tak'jut	
alike	'nggilŭd	'mpada	
alive	*m*oyăg (*b*)	mulun	
alive (to make)	*pa*-boyag	*pa*-mulun	
all	kanangai, k'ngai	kamisa	ngai-ngai (Non.)
allot (to)	*m*agi (*b*)	*m*agi (*b*)	
allow (to)	bia[a]	kin	
almost	(m)ingkad	tumbal	
alms	sadaka	sad'ka[a] (Ar. صَدَقَة)	
aloft	da sawat	da s'mbau	
alone	kabatit	kadiri[4]	

[1] *b'rokut*, Mal. *b'rikut* = following.—F.

[2] *bajanji*, *ba* may be equivalent to the Mal. *b'r*, as *b'rjanji*, in which case it is a late word copied directly and, as Dr. F. suggests, the *r* only a link between the prefix and the verbal stem.

[3] *dualan*, this is apparently a verbal noun formed after the Malay fashion from *dual*, to ache.

[4] *kadiri*, Mal. *k'ndiri*, besides *s'ndiri*.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
also	pa^{s}	gah	
alter (to)	pa-bagu	pa-b'rú	
always	iakir	saga^{s}	iakika (Non.)
am	sina	nan	
amid	da-tanga	da-t'ngah (Mal. *di t'ngah*)	
amiss	korang	korãng (Mal. *kurang*)	
amok (to run)	*ng*amok (^{s})	*ng*amo^{s} (Mal. *m'ngamu^{s}*) (^{s})	
amulet	tambatu	ajimat	
amuse oneself (to)	gumbak	bak^{s}ori, bakori	
ancestors	iadu (lit. grandparents)	nini^{s} [1]	
and	ambaya, maya da	'mpada, pada-pada	
angry	m'ngitan	bising [2]	
anklet	galang-tanak	g'lang-b'tis (Mal. id.)	
annoy (to)	*ng*usik (^{s})	*ng*usi (^{s})	
another	anda	lain (Mal. id.)	
answer (to)	*ng*ajawab, tumam	nyawal (*s*) *ng*ajawab (Mal. *m'njawab*)	
ant (red fire ant)	linsadam	kilau-apui	
ant (big wood)	kilau	kilau-raya	
anus	alu	tumbong (Sulu id.)	
anxiety (desiderium)	kandak [3]	k'nda [3]	
any (*apa-apa* Mal.)	mana-mana	nun-nun	
anywhere	da-manaĩ-manaĩ	da-ma^{s}-da-ma^{s}	
apologize	malak ampun	*ng*alaku ampun	
apparition	imb'lua	badua^{s}	
approach (to)	makau mingkad	'mpanau tumbal	
Arabia	pagun Arab	b'nua Arab (Mal. id.)	
arduous	susah	susah (Mal. id.)	

[1] *nini^{s}*, Mal. *nene^{s}-moyang*, ancestors.—F.

[2] *bising*, Mal. not 'noisy' but 'deafened', French *étourdi*, by noise, &c.—F.

[3] *kandak*, *k'nda*, cf. Mal. *kahĕnda^{s}*, 'wish', and the contraction *kĕnda^{s}*, sweetheart.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
are	sina, kamud	nan	
areca	pinang	pinang (Mal. id.), g'rat	
arise	kadat	batun	
arm	tindulu	tangan (Mal. id.)	
around	intalibang	k'liling (Mal. id.)	insaliūt
arrange (to)	*ng*atur (*s*)	*ng*atur (*s*) (Mal. *m'ngatur*)	(Sim.)
arrive (to)	kasabai	matang[1]	
ascend	masak	sabi	
ashamed	miwan	*ny*adap (*s*)	
ask for (to)	malak	*ng*alaku	
ask a question (to)	*ngan*tana	*ngan*tinya	
assault	*nga*robak	*nga*langgar (Mal. *m'langgar*)	
assemble	intimong	bakumpal (Mal. *b'rkumpul*)	
astonish (to)	*pa*-kēran[2]	*pa*-kēran	hajaip
at	da	da	(Sesayap R.)
at first	upun-upun	upun-upun	
attempt (to)	*ngan*suba[3], *ng*inyam (*k*)	*ngan*chuba[3] (Mal. *m'nchoba*)	
attendant	lípăn	lípăn[4]	
auger	k'libu	k'libu	
aunt	ina-lumat	ma - sine[s] (Mal. *ma*[s])	
avaricious	saradik	ch'rdi (Mal. *ch'rdi*[s], cunning)	
avenge (to)	*m*alas (*b*)	'mblas (Mal. *m'mbálas*)	
await (to)	*ng*along (*s*)	*n*unggu(*t*), (Mal. *m'nunggu*)	
awake (be)	kadat	batun	
axe	kapak (Mal. id.)	kampe[s]	

[1] *matang*, from *datang* (abbreviation of *dumatang?*), Mal. *datang*, Sulu *dumatong*. Cf. Jav. *dumatĕng*=to come.—F.

[2] *pa-kēran*, Arabic *hairān*, حَيْرَان; Malay *hēran*.—F.

[3] *ngansuba*, *nganchuba*. In the Tarakan dialect *s* very often takes the place of *ch*. Cf. *saradik*, *ch'rdi*; *saramin*, *ch'rmin*, &c.

[4] *lipán*, Mal. 'centipede'!—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolonga n.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
baby	anak lumat	j'mni, ane[a]	
bachelor	bujang, babuayei	m'ranai, bujãng	
back	bangkulong	br'okut	
back (to draw)	mundor	mundor (Mal. *undor*)	
bad (*jahat*, Mal.)	malat	b'jit	
bad (*busok*, Mal.)	mutang	buntu	
bag	karong	karong (Mal. id.)	
bail (to)	*nga*jamin [1]	*nga*jamin	
bait	pumpun	pumpun (Mal. id.)	
bake (to)	*m*anggang (*p*)	*m*anggãng (*p*)	
bald	gundul (Mal. id.)	punda	
bale (to)	*ny*ayid (*s*), *n*imba (*t*)	*n*imbei (*t*), (Mal. *m'nimba*)	
ball (wicker)	sipak (Mal. *sĕpa*[a])	sipe[a]	
bamboo	buloh	buloh (Mal. id.)	
banana	punti	pisãng (Mal. id.)	
banish	*pa*-idu	pa-dareũ	
bank	bibil	bibir (Mal. ='lip')	
banquet	irau [2]	irau	
banquet (to give)	baïrau [2]	baïrau	
bargain (to)	nawar (*t*)	nawar (*t*)	
bark (to) (of a dog)	*ng*usig (*s*)	*ng*usig (*s*)	
bashful	miwan	nyadap [3]	
basket	bikut	bikut	
bat	tangklawar	klawar (Mal. *klĕláwar*)	
bathe (to)	*m'nj*ēu	m'ndus	
bawl (to)	int'rais	int'rais	
bay	talok	t'luk [4]	
be	sina	nan	
beach	bibil	bibir	

[1] *ngajamin*, Ar. جامن, a corruption of زعيم.—F.

[2] *irau*, *baïrau*, Mal. to 'hanker after'.—F.

[3] *nyadap*, a simple word, adjective—not a verb with a prefix.

[4] *t'luk*. In Mal. *t'lo*[a] with high *o*, but short.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*
beak (of a bird)	munong	munchung[1]
bean	kasang$_2$	kach'ng$_2$ (Mal. *kachang*)
bear (carry)	*n*anggong (*t*)	*ng*angkat (*s*) (Mal. *m'ngangkat*, to lift up, to carry away)
bear (*pikul*, Mal.)	*ng*asan (*s*)	*ng*angkat (*s*)
bear children	*ng*anak (*s*)	*ng*ane^{s} (*s*)
beard	janggot	janggot (Mal. id.)
beat	*m*angil (*b*), *m*ambang (*b*)	*m*ambăng (*b*)
beaten	wali	kalah (Mal. *alah*)
beautiful	bajajak	bajija^{s}
because	sabap	s'bap (Mal. id.)
bêche-de-mer	b'runok	b'runok (Mal. id.)
beckon	*ng*alambai	*ng*alambai (Mal. *m'lambai*)
become	jadi	jadi (Mal. id.)
bed	baya^{s}-malang	s'gal-tingidi
bedstead	katil (Mal. id.)	pangkat (Mal. *rank*, scaffolding, &c.)
bee (a)	sigud	s'laganting
before	gulu	luan (Mal. *aluan*, prow, stem)
beg	malak	*ng*alaku
begin	*n*impun (*t*)	*n*ampun (*t*)[2]
behind	da-bangkulong	da-br'okut
believe	p'rsaya[3]	p'rchaya (Mal. id.)
believe (think)	bapikir	bapikir (Mal. *b'rpikir*)
belly (see stomach)	tinai	t'nai, butit
belonging	yampuna	simpunya
below	da-disau	da-diba
belt (waist)	panding[4]	tali-pinggăng (Mal. id.)
bend (to)	mingkok (*b*)	mingkok (*b*), (Mal. *bengko^{s}*, crooked)

[1] *munchung*. In Mal. = protruding, e. g. an animal's mouth.—F.

[2] *nimpun*, *nampun* (*t*), also *timpuan*, a beginning.

[3] *p'rsaya*, *p'rchaya*. Again note the tendency in Tarakan to substitute *s* for *ch*, due to the difficulty of the Kayan to pronounce the *ch*. Those who remained in Bolongan gradually adopted the Malay *ch*. But *vide* Introduction.

[4] Cp. Malay *tali-p'nding* = *tali-pinggang*; *p'nding* being a metal plate to which the belt is fastened (Jav. id. &c.).—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*
beneath	da-disau	da-diba
benevolent	bais p'nyawa	bai^{a} asang
best	bais kaninjulu	bai^{a} t'ngan
bet (to)	basiwa	basiwa
betel nut	pinang (Mal. id.)	g'rat
betel leaf	buyu	buyu
betel box	salapa	sl'pa (Mal. id.)
better	labih baïs	l'bih bai^{a} (Mal. id.)
between	da-antara	da-ant'ra (Mal. *di-antara*)
bewail (to)	t(um)angi	nangis (*t*) (Mal. *m'nangisi*)
beware (to)	*nga*jaga	*nga*jaga (Mal. *jaga*)
bewitched	basētan	basētan (Mal. *b'sētan*)
beyond	s'mbial	s'mbila
bid (to)	*ny*usub (*s*)	*ny*uru (*s*) (Mal. *m'nyuroh*)
big	tupal	raya
billow	nawak	nyaba^{a}
bind (to)	*nga*dokug	*ng*inggat (Mal. *m'ngikat*)
bird (to)	pampuloh	pampuloh
bird's nest	sarang	sarang (Mal. id.)
bitch	asu dinandu	asu d'dor
bite (to)	*ng*abut (^{a})	*ng*ikit (*k*)[1]
blachan	m'mbaring	m'mbaring
black	mitam	mitam (Mal. *itam*)
blaze (to)	sĭkit	nyală (Mal. id.)
bleed (to)	badada	badarah (Mal. *b'darah*)
blood	dada	darah (Mal. id.)
blossom	busak	busei
blow	mujuk	muju
blowpipe	sapok	s'pu^{a}
blunt (not sharp)	ingalal, nupa ladam	majal, kila tajam
boar	bakas dalaki	baboi laki
boat	padau	bidu
boil (trans.)	*nga*rabus	*ngar*'bus (Mal. *m'rĕbus*)
boil (intrans.)	j'muar	babueh (Mal. *b'rbueh*)
boil (cook), (*masak*, Mal.)	*ng*ansubun (^{a})	*ng*incheh (*k*)
boil (*bisul*, Mal.)	kupas	bisul (Mal. id.)
bold	siŭg	kangar
bone	tulang (Mal. id.)	tulāng

[1] *ngikit*, Mal. *m'nggigit*, with two 'voiced' consonants.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
bore (to)	k'libu	k'libu	
borrow (to)	*ng*imbas (*ª*)	*ng*injam (*ª*)	
bosom	tite*ª*	tite*ª*, susu (Mal.id.)	
bough	sampang, apa*ª* (-taun)	pah (-kayu), (lit. 'thigh')	
bound (to)	*ny*amput (*s*)	nyamput (*s*)	
boundary	simpadan	simpadan (Mal. *s'mpadan*)	
bow in prayer (to)	t(um)ukum	*n*ukum (*t*)	
bow (of a ship)	dulong	dulong	
box	pati	p'ti (Mal. id.)	
boy (son)	anak-dalaki	j'mni, ane*ª*-laki	
bracelet	galang	g'lāng (Mal. id.)	
brains	utak (Mal. id.)	ulu	
branch	adan	dan[1] (Mal. *dahan*)	
brave	siŭg	kangar	
bread	mangkanan, roti	roti (Mal. id.)	
break (to) (*pecha hkăn*)	*pa*-badak	*pa*-bila	
break (intrans.)	badak	bila	
break (*putus*)	bukat	b'tus[2]	
break (*patah*)	putul	pisu	
breaker (surf)	dulun	dulun	
breast	kubŭb		
breasts	tite*ª*	tite*ª*, susu (Mal.id.)	
breath (*nafas*)	napas (Ar. نفس)	napas	
breeches	sewal[3] jēwa	s'luar[3]	
breed	*n*alikor (*t*), *m*'lira (*p*)	*m*'lira (*p*) (Mal. *m'm'liara*)	
breeze	bareu	bareu	
bridge	jamban[4]	jamban[4]	
bring	*ng*ibit (*ª*)	*ng*ibit (*ª*)	
brink	[*see* bank]		
broad	tawa	libar (Mal. *lébar*)	

[1] *dan*. It is noticeable that the Bolongan dialect tends to more abbreviated forms of words. Cf. *adan* (T.), *dan* (B.), and many other words.

[2] *b'tus*, Mal. *putus*, but only of ropes, thread, and the like.—F.

[3] *s'luar*, Arabic, Persian, Malay, سِرْوَال.—F.

[4] *jamban*, used in Malay for a w.c., but this Malay word may be a contraction of *jambatan*, a bridge, as such a w.c. is a wooden construction on the water.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
broom	papas	papas	
brothers ('relations')	pansulud	p'radi	
brother (elder)	iaka-dalaki [1]	singke-laki[a]	
brother (younger)	iadi-dalaki [1]	sadi[a] (Mal. *adi*[a])	
brothers- or sisters-in-law	iras [2]	sango[a]	
brush (to)	*m*apas (*p*)	*m*apas (*p*)	
bubble (to), (Mal. *m'ndidi*)	jamüar	babueh (Mal. *b'r-bueh* = to foam)	
buck	payau dalaki	payau laki	
bud	busak-kansup	base[a]-kenchup	
buffalo	k'rabau	k'rbau (Mal. id.)	
bunch	pipil	sikat	
burn (to)	*ny*alab (*s*), *n*inu (*t*)	*n*otong (*t*), *n*inu (*t*)	
bury (to)	*ng*ubor [3] (*k*)	*ng*ubor (*k*)	
busy	abut	abut	
but	t'tapi	t'tapi (Mal. id.)	
buttress (of a tree)	taming	taming	
buy	*ng*alan (*a*)	mali (*b*), (Mal. *m'mbĕlĭ*)	
by (place)	(m)ingkad	tumbal	
by and by	'njakin	nyambil	
cake	mangkanan [4]	mangkanan [4]	
calculate (to)	*ng*ira (*k*)	*ng*ira (*k*), (Mal. *m'ngira*)	
call (to)	*nga*lagau	*n*awal (*t*)	ipag (Non.)
call at (to)	mapit	singgah (Mal. id.)	

[1] *iaka* and *iadi*, *singke*[a] and *sadi*[a] apply as well to brothers as to sisters, when not distinguished by the words *dalaki*, *dinandu*, &c. The same lack of a special word in every case to designate the man or the woman is to be observed in the other names of relations, so *iras*, *anak*, &c.

[2] *iras*. Mal. *biras* denotes the relation between a married person and the sister or brother of his brother(s)- or sister(s)-in-law, who according to *our* law are no family relation at all.—F.

[3] *ngubor*, Arabic قُبُور, plural of قَبْر, grave; Arabic-Malay, *kubur-kăn*, to bury.—F.

[4] *mangkanan*, cf. Mal. *makan-an*, something to eat.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
calm	tánang	tánang (Mal. *t'nang*[1])	
camphor	apūg	kapor	
can (=to get)	kalap	kilom	
cane (*rotan*)	awei	wai, rotan (Mal. id.)	
cap (headdress)	sungkoh	sungkoh	
capon	manok-kabiri	ayam-kabiri	
capsize	kalaub	k'laub	
carcass	mayat	mayat (Mal. *maït*)	
care (to)	*ng*ajaga	*ng*ajaga	
care (to) (Mal. *paduli*)	*p*-'guna	*p*-'guna[a]	
carry (to)	*n*anggong (*t*)	*ng*angkat (*a*)	
carve (to)	*ng*ukir (*a*)	*ng*ukir (*a*)	
cascade	timag-s(um)amput	danum-nyamput	
cat	usi	kuching	
catch (to)	*ng*adakap	*n*akap (*d*)	
catch hold of (to)	*ny*anggal (*s*)	*ng*agamon	
caution (to)	*n*ulu (*t*)	*ng*ajar (*a*)	
cavity	luang	lobăng (Mal. *lobang*)	
cease (to)	b'ranti	br'ntí (Mal. id.)	
centre	tangah	t'ngah (Mal. id.)	
certain	tantu	t'ntu (Mal. id.)	
chaff	ampas	'mpas	
chair	kadila	k'rusi (Mal. id.)	
change (to)	*ny*unsong (*s*)	*ng*alit	
channel (a)	liŭ	liŭ	
chase (to)	*n*urus (*t*)	*ng*agimpar	
chase (to hunt)	*ng*asu[2]	baburu (Mal. *b'rburu*)	
chatter (of teeth)	samoŭn	dadam	
cheap	lüei	mora[a] (Mal. *murah*)	
cheat (to)	*n*apu (*t*)	*n*ipu (*t*) (Mal. *m'nipu*)	
cheek	palingas	palingas	

[1] *t'nang*, Mal. 'calm', of water only.—F.

[2] *ngasu*, a verb formed from *asu*, a dog, signifying to 'hunt with dogs'. Cf. Malay of Borneo, *m'nganjing*, where the meaning is identical.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
chew (to)	*ng*unyal (*k*)	*ng*unyal (*k*)	
chicken	anak-manok	ane*-ayam	
child	anak	ane*	
child (with)	batian	b'tian	
chili	sabi[1] (Mal. *chabai*)	lada (Mal. id.)	
chop (to)	*m*otul (*p*)	*m*isu (*p*)	
chopper	kapak	kampe*	
choose (to)	*m*ili (*p*)	*m*ilih (*p*), (Mal. *m'milih*)	
clasp (to embrace)	*ng*amal (*k*)		
claw	sandap	s'ndap	
clean (to)	*m*agu (*b*)	*n*'pas (*t*)	
clear	banta	t'rāng (Mal. *t'rang*)	
cleave (to)	*m*ial[2] (*b*)	mila (*b*), (Mal. *m'mb'lah*)	
climb (to), (a tree)	*n*akad (*t*)	*ng*angkat	
climb (to), (a hill)	masak	sabi	
close (to)	*n*otub (*t*) (Mal. *m'nutop*)	*n*odong (*t*)	
close	[*see* 'near']		
clouds	kuanan, titai bareu	awan (Mal. id.), titai bareu	
cock	manok dalaki	ayam laki[3]	
coconut	piasau	nior[4]	
coition (to have)	bakinju*	bakinju*	
cold	saloi	s'ngam[5]	

[1] Mal. *chabai* = *lada mĕrah*, or red pepper, Dutch *Spaansche peper*, the former is a corrupted Skr. word (*chavya*); compare corruption of Skr. *ksantavya* (be it allowed, with your leave) into Mal. *tabi**, abbreviated from *s'ntabi**; the latter form being met with in several Mal.-Polynesian languages, e. g. Batta or Batak, Tagalog (Philippines), &c.—F.

[2] *mial*, *mila* (*b*), cf. the Tidong words *s'mbial* (Tar.), *s'mbila* (Bol.) equivalents of the Malay *sab'lah*. The idea of 'separation' or 'division,' is implied in these words, which mean 'towards', 'across', 'on the one side', &c. Hence in all of them the word meaning to 'split'.

[3] Mal. *ayam-jantăn* in opposition to *ayam-bĕtina*, hen.—F.

[4] Mal. *niur* or *ñiur* synonymous with *k'lapa*.—F.

[5] The Malay word *s'ram* with a uvular *r* means 'shrivelled with cold', said of the skin.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
collect (to)	*n*imong (*t*)	*ng*umpul (*k*)	
comb	sulud	sunut	
come (to)	kasabai	matang	
come here!	maya (dagitu)	kitu (diitu)	
comfort (to)	*m*ujuk (*b*)	*m*uju (*b*)	
common people	anak-pagun	anak-b'nua (Mal. id.)	
companion	dangan	ibal	
compare (to)	*pa-ng*-gilud	*pa*-'mpada	
compassion	masih	masih	
complain	*ng*adu (*ᵃ*)	*ng*adu (*ᵃ*) (Mal. *m'ngadukan*)	
comply	maya	m'nya*ᵃ*	
compound (to)	*ny*ampur*ᵃ* (*ch*)	*ny*ampur(*ch*)(Mal. *m'nchampur*)	
comprehend	*ng*rati	*ng*arti (Mal. *m'ngarti*)	
conclude	*ng*ai(*ᵃ*) *ng*alisi	*ng*anggis (*ᵃ*)	
concluded	pungur nia!	pupus na!	
condemn (to)	bagukum (Arab. حُكْم)	bahukum	
condiment (*see* blachan)	mambaring	mambaring	
conduct	[*see* send]		
connect (to)	*ny*ambong (*s*)	*ny*ambong (Mal. *m'nyambong*)	
conquer (to)	manang	m'nāng (Mal. *m'nang*)	
constantly	salak	s'lalu (Mal. id.)	
construct (to)	*ngan*tugus	*ngang*kuat	
contents	ansi	'nchi	
cook (to)	*ngan*subun	bakinche*ᵃ*	
cooking-place	tandang	dapor (Mal. id.)	
cord	tabid	tali	
corpulent	intalama*ᵃ* [1]	g'mu*ᵃ* (Mal. *g'mo*ᵃ)	
cotton thread	lawai	lawai	
cough	gusŭd	batŭ (Mal. *bato*ᵃ)	
country	pagun	b'nua (Mal. id.)	
course (way)	dalan	jalan (Mal. id.)	

[1] *intalama*ᵃ, collateral form of *talama*ᵃ; cf. (in)*t'labas*, 'naked', and Mal. (an)*timun*, a cucumber. Comp. Mal. *l'ma*ᵃ, fat.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
cousin (first)	tiliganda[1]	tiliganda[1]	
cousin (second)	tilindua[1]	tilindua[1]	
crab	limango	limango	
creep (to)	ingkamang	*nga*rayap (Mal. *m'rayap*)	
crocodile	buya	buya	
cross (to)	indapit, makau da s'mbial	'mpanau ka s'mbila	
crow (to), (of a cock)	bakuku[2]	bakuku[2] (Mal. *b'rkuku*[2])	
crush (to)	*ng*isik (*k*)	*ny*isi (*s*)	
crush to pieces	*nga*labor	*ng*anchor (*ʼ*)	
cry (to), (weep)	t(um)angi	*n*angis (*t*)	
cry (shout)	intrais, l(um)andoi	batriĕ[2] (Mal. *b'r-triak*), int'raïs	
cucumber	lantimon[2]	lantimon[2]	
cup	tutong	tutong	
curly	balingkar[3]	balingkar[3]	
current (tide)	pasak	pasa[2] (Mal. *pa-sang*)	
curtailed	jēwa	k'pa[2]	
cushion	ubut	s'lipi	
cut	*m*otong (*p*)	*m*otong (*p*)	
cut in two	*m*otul (*p*)	*m*isu (*p*)	
cut (Mal. *tĕ-bang*)	*n*agad (*t*), *m*idis (*p*)	*n*abang (*t*), *n*im-pas (*t*)	
dance	baïlok	baïlok	
dark	niat	ritang	
daughter	anak-dinandu	anak-d'dor	
day	adau	pēu, dau	
dead	matai	matai (Mal. *mati*)	
deaf	bangaran	bisu[4] (Sulu id.)	

[1] *tiliganda, tilindua.* It would seem that the equivalent of the Malay *s'pupu*, 'cousin', is *tili.* I have never heard this word used, but in the Simbakong and Nonoekan dialects of Tidong *iganda* means 'first', and is also equivalent to Mal. *sa-kali.* Hence *tilin-iganda*, first cousin; *tilin-dua*, second cousin.

[2] *lantimon*, Malay *ĕntimun.* The presence of the *l* is curious.

[3] *b'lĕngkar* (I prefer *ĕ* to *i*, as the parting of the syllables is *b'lĕ-ngkar*), Mal., same meaning, from *lĕngkar.*—F.

[4] In Malay *bisu* means 'dumb', *b'ngal*, hard of hearing.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
dear (expensive)	baraga	b'rga[1]	
deceive	[*see* cheat]		
deeply laden	lalab	lalab	
deer (*rusa*)	payau[2]	payau[2]	
defy (to)	*ng*apu (*ʼ*)	*ng*alawan (Mal. *m'lawan*)	
deliver (to)	*ng*alabus	*ng*al'pas (Mal. *l'paskan*)	
deluge (to)	bunsuk	bunchu[3]	
demand (to)	malak	*ng*alaku	
demolish (to)	*m*aba (*p*)	*n*ubāng[3] (*t*)	
depart (*pulang* Mal.)	muli	muni	
descend (to)	(m)indau	dibai	
detain (to)	*n*ahan (*t*)	*ngan*tahan (Mal. *m'nahan*)	
die (to)	matai	matai	
dig	*ny*unkal (*ch*)	*ngang*gali (Mal. *m'nggali*)	
direct (to)	*n*unjuk (*t*)	*n*unju[3] (*t*)	
direct (straight)	tulid	lurus (Mal. id.)[4]	
dirty	ligan	b'rida	kaligagan
disappear (to)	tatag	jawal	(Sim.)
dish	lalai	lalai	
dish (wooden)	tabak (Ar. Mal. id.)	tabe[3]	
dissolve	[*see* melt]		
distant	tawai	ju[3]	
dive (to)	*ngan*talap	munchat	
divide (to)	*m*agi (*b*)	*m*agi (*b*)	
do (to)	*ngan*tugus	*ngang*kuat (*ʼ*)	
do not!	sama	bagi	

[1] Mal. *b'rharga*, lit. = having a price.—F.

[2] Water that is neither salt nor fresh is called by the Malays *aïr payau*.—F.

Curiously enough the Tidongs always say that deer are passionately fond of the brackish water that is often to be found in the inland swamps of Borneo, and such places are the favourite hunting grounds for natives who wish to obtain these animals. Perhaps *aïr-payau* = 'water such as the deer loves'.—M. W. H. B.

[3] Mal. *tumbang*, to fall down; said of heavy or massive things, big trees, &c.—F.

[4] Also 'straightforward'.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
docile	magop	jine^{s}	
dog	asu	asu	
done	pungur	pupus	
door	tumbangan	lawãng	
down (to go)	[*see* descend]		
drag (to)	*m*init (*b*)	*ny*ikut (*s*)	
drake	bibik-dalaki	bibe^{s}-laki	
draw (to)	[*see* drag]		
dream (to)	indupi	*nga*dupi (Mal. *bèr-mimpi*)	
drift (to)	*m*abas (*b*)	*m*arbas (*b*)	
drink (to)	*ng*inum (*s*)	*ng*irop [1] (*s*)	
drive away (to)	*m*ugar (*b*), *pa*-idu	*pa*-dareu	
drop (a)	matak, bintir	s'pata, bintir	
drop (to)	*pa*-datoh	*pa*-labu	
drown (to)	l(um)asŭd	marap	
drowsy	kanandungal	katundun	
drunk	māuk	māu^{s} (Mal. *mābo*^{s})	
dry	puah	puah	
dry (to)	*pa*-puah	*pa*-puah	
dry (to), (in the sun)	*pa*-adau, *pa*-lasu, *ng*itug (*k*)	*pa*-s'dat	
dun (to), (Mal. *m'nagih*)	*ny*ingil (*s*)	*ny*ingil (*s*)	
duck	bibik	bibe^{s} (Jav. *bebe*^{s})	
dung	titai	t'tai (Mal. *tāi*)	
dwell (to)	(m)apong	t('m)ada	
dye	salup	s'lup [2]	
early	sumpul	suboh (Ar. Mal. id.)	
eat (to)	*ng*akan (*s*)	*ng*akan (*s*)	
eat a feast (to)	baīrau	baīrau	
ebb-tide	murut	urut (Mal. *surut*)	
edge	bibil	bibir	
egg	talu	t'lor (Mal. id.)	
eight	walu	walu	
eighteen	sapuloh-walu	sapuloh-walu	

[1] Mal. *m'ngirup*, to sip.—F.

[2] I know the word *ch'lup* for special dyeing with indigo. It is also known all over Java.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
eighty	walumpuloh [1]	walumpuloh [1]	
elder brother	[*see* brother]		
elder sister	[*see* sister]		
elephant	iaki or gadingan [2]	gajah [2] (Mal. id., from Skr.) [2]	
eleven	sapuloh-sinan	sapuloh-isa	
elucidate (to)	*pa*-banta	*pa*-trāng	
emaciated	tūmukar	kurus (Mal. id.)	
embers	aba	bara (Mal. id.)	
empty (i. e. 'finished')	lisi	'nggis	
enemy	tabug	lawan (Mal. opponent, adversary)	
enervated	mumpai	lumu	
enough	ganap	g'nap (Mal. complete)	
entangle (to), (*sangkut*, M.)	*ny*angkut (*s*)	*ny*angkut (*s*)	
entangle (*kusot*, M.)	gugut	gugut	
enter (to)	(m)umpas	(m)ancha'	
entrails	ansi-tinai	'nchi-t'nai	
envy (*ch'mburu*, Mal.)	*ng*iagu (')	*ng*iagu (')	
equal	*'ng*gilud	'mpada	
erect (to)	*pa*-kindi	*pa*-tubun	
escape	midu	dareu	
evening	jualap	kalau	
ever	pir	agi	
evil	malat	b'jit	
exact	manang '	t'ngan	
examine (to)	*m*areksa (*p*)	*m*areksa (*p*) (Mal. *mĕm'reksa*)	
excessive	kaninjulu	kangaluan	
exchange (to)	*ny*ansong (*s*)	*ng*alit (')	
exist	[*see* live]		

[1] *walumpuloh*, *walu-m-puloh*. Here the same *m* is inserted as in verbs before *b* and *p*; cf. *ngam-puki*. Cf. also *lima(m)puloh*, fifty.—F.

[2] *iaki* (i + aki) contains the same demonstrative prefix as some names of family relations (*iaka*, *iadi*, *iandu*, &c.), and must originally mean 'the old man,' which would be in perfect accordance with native superstition and custom. As to *gadingan*, this comes from *gading*, ivory (cf. Malay).—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
expand (to)	kambang	kambāng (Mal. *k'mbang*)	
eye-ball	umin-mata	koyu-mata	
eyebrow	alis[1], kilei	alis[1]	
face	mala	pamuan	
fall	didatoh	labū	
false	labat	bujar	
fan	kipus	kipas (Mal. id.)	
far	tawai	ju[2]	
fast (*l'kas*)	tikas	d'ras	
fast (*laju*, Mal.)	mulu	măran	
fasten	*nga*dokug, *ng*ansing (*k*)	*ny*ikat (*s*), *ng*anching (*k*)	
fat	intalamak[2]	g'mu[2], t'rmá	
father	iama[2]	tama	
fatigued	[*see* tired]		
fear (to)	lala	rakat	
feast	[*see* banquet]		
feel (to) i. e. 'grope' (*raba* M.)	*ng*agap (*')	*ng*akap (*')	
feel (*rasa* M.)	*nga*rasa	*nga*rasa (Mal. *m'rasa*)	
female	dinandu[3]	d'dor	
fern	kujau	paku, kujau	
ferocious	[*see* brave]		
fetch (to)	[*see* bring]		
fever	dualan	t'rman	
few	miting	kab'ni[2]	
fie !	dis !	dis !	
fifteen	sapuloh-lima	sapuloh-lima	
fifty	limampuloh[4]	limampuloh[4]	
fight (to), (*berklahi*)	inggabu[2]	babakau	

[1] *alis* refers to that part of the eyebrow that is shaved on the occasion of marriage. The verb signifying to shave this particular part is *ngalis* (*').—Comp. Jav. *alis*, id.—F.

[2] Cf. note 1 to p. 69. Also cf. Mal. *l'ma*'.—F.

[3] Possibly a nominal (participial) form, from *dandu* (?) or *andu* (?), meaning 'to possess' (?). Cf. Malay *p'r-ampu-an*, woman, a possession, from *ampu*.—F.

[4] Cf. note 1 to p. 73.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
fight (to), (*berprang*)	*ng*amok (ª)	ngamoª	
fill (to)	*ng*udan (ª)	*ng*udan (ª)	
fin	sisik	sisik	
find (to)	kalap	kilom	
finger	lingagai	lingagai	
finish (to)	*ng*alisi, *ng*ai (ª)	*ng*anggis (ª)	
fire	apui	apui	
fire (to set)	*ny*ikit (*s*)	*m*uju (*p*)	
fire-place	tandang	dapor	
first	gulu	luan	
fish	kanan[1]	k'nas	
fish (dried)	kanan puah	k'nas puah	
fish (to)	*ng*apan (ª)	m'si (*p*)	
fish-hook	mata-apan	mata-p'si	
fix (to)	[*see* fasten]		
flame	sikit	sikit	
flash(lightning)	bakilŭp (M. *běr-kilat*)	bakinyar	
flat	datal	ratā (Mal. id.)	
flexible	lami	l'ntiª	
fling (to)	*pa-ng*-kĕlóng	*m*inggati (*p*)	
float (to)	l(um)ampu	t'manal	
flood-(tide)	luab	luab, pasang	
flood	bunsuk	bunchuª, banjir	
floor	sulig (Bajau), bandas	lantai (Mal. id.)	
flour (rice)	g'lapong	t'pong (Mal. id.)	
flower	busak	bungā, buseª	
fly (to), (of a bird)	*ngan*tulud	t'murut	
fly (a)	bangalŭd	lalat (Mal. id.)	
foam	putak	puteª	
fold (to)	*ng*alapis	*ng*alapis	
follow (to)	maya, *ny*alugut (*s*)	*ng*agimpar	
fool	balingau	k'rungu	
foot	tanak	b'tis (Mal.=shin)	
forbid (to)	*ny*awai (*s*)	*ng*alarāng (Mal. *ni'larang*)	

[1] *kan-an* (verb, *ngakan*) = the thing eaten, food. Cf. Mal. *ikan* (verb, *makan*). Cf. also English *meat* with Skr. *matsya*, fish; both related with *mate, ge-mate*, the one who eats with you.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
forest	taun	kayu (Mal. = wood = Germ. holz)	
forget (to)	lupanan	kalisau	
formerly	gili	luandu	
fowl	manok	ayam (Mal. id.)	
fowl (wild)	manok-taun	ayam-utan (Mal. id.)	
fragrant	lanyung	marum (Mal. *arum*)	
fresh	bagu	b'ru	
frog	t'ladak	t'ladak	
from	intad (*da*)	nia	sintud (Non.)
fry (to)	*ny*angar (*s*)	*ny*angar (*s*)	
full	panoh	p'nu (Mal. *p'noh*)	
full (sated)	masog	b'sur	
gamble	babutor [1]	babutor [1]	
garden	kābun	kăbūn (Mal. *kĕbón*)	
garlic	bawang pulak	bawang pute [a]	
gate	tumbangan	lawāng	
gently!	lambat-lambat (Mal. id.)	l'mbat-l'mbat	
get (to)	kalap	kilom	
get up (to)	kadat	batun	
get out!	s('m)ila	munchit	
ghost	imb'ua	badua [a]	
gills (of fish)	asang (Mal. *insang*)	'nchāng	
girl	anak-dinandu	ane [a]-d'dor	
give (to)	tinak [2]	*ny*adong (*s*)	

[1] Comp. Jav. *botohan*, which must be a corruption of *bĕtāroh*(*-an*), Malay *bĕtāroh*, to stake, to gamble; so we might conclude that the gambling came from the Malays to the Javanese. Why not? Just as the Dayaks in Borneo (I was in West Borneo about seventeen months) are constantly taking over uses and customs from the Malays, so the Javanese, who originally were not more civilized than they, may have borrowed much from the seafaring, colonizing Malays. Compare many other Malay words in Javanese, some of them used as 'high' words.—F.

ba in *babutor* and in *badua* seems to be a prefix (Mal. *bĕ*); the final *r* (uvular) may be a wrongly understood sounded final *h* (a 'visarga').

[2] This seems to be a passive form of *nak* (*t*), which word I found for 'to give' in a small vocabulary of Tidong by Mr. W. Aernout, 1885, then

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
give back (to)	*pa*-duli[1]	*pa*-balik (Mal. *balikkan*)	
glass	saramin	ch'rmin (Mal. id.)	
globular	limpong	buntar (Mal. id.)	
go (to)	makau	*'m*panau	
go (to let)	*pa*-labus	*pa*-l'pas (Mal. *l'paskăn*)	
go in	(m)umpas	(m)ancha[s]	
go out	s('m)ila	munchit	
go up	[*see* ascend]		
go down	[*see* descend]		
good	bais	bai[s] (Mal. *baĭk*)	
good (to make)	*pa*-bais	*pa*-bai[s] (Mal. *baĭki*)	
grain (seed)	umi[s]	koyum	
grand-child	anak-iadu[s]	ane[s]-chuchu (Mal. id.)	
grandfather	iadu[s]-dalaki	nine[s]-laki	
grandmother	iadu[s]-dinandu	nine[s]-d'dor	
grass (long)	rumput-bolalang	rumput-balalăng (Mal. *lălang*)	
great	tupal	raya	
grit	agis	agis	
grind (to)	*ng*asah (*s*)	*ng*asah (*s*) (Mal. *m'ngasah*)	
grope (to)	*ng*agap (*s*)	*ng*akap (*s*)	
gulp (to)	*n*alan[2] (*t*)	*n'*lan[2] (Mal. *m'nĕlan*) (*t*)	
gutta	ula	lula (Kayan. id.)	
hair	abok	bu[s]	
half	s'tangah	st'ngah (Mal. id.)	
hand	tindulu	tangăn (Mal. id.)	langan (Non.)
handle	utak	uru[3]	

controller and magistrate at Moeara Teweh (Central Borneo). Vide *Indische Gids*, 7e jaargang, 1, p. 536.—F.

[1] *pa-duli*, to give *back*. Here the same root as in *muli*, to go *back*.

[2] The stem is *t'lan*; *n'lan* must be the so-called 'imperfective' phase of the verb; comp. Malay *tĕlan*, *ditĕlan*, *t'rtĕlan*, *m'nĕlan* (developed out of *m'nt'lan* by 'assimilation'). This assimilation in Malay only works progressively on 'tenues' (except *ch*, which remains intact, so *m'ñchāri*, to look for, and not *m'nyāri*).—F.

[3] Mal. *(h)ulu*, said of princes when meaning 'head', otherwise used for *handle*, *upper end*, &c.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
hang (to)	*nga*gantong	*nga*gantong (Mal. *m'nggantong*)	
hard	katág	k'ras (Mal. id.)	
hat	sungko[a]	sungko[a]	
hatchet	kapak (Mal. id.)	kampe[a]	
hate (to)	bansi	b'nchi (Mal. id.)	
haunted	b'rantu	b'rantu (Mal. id.)	
have (to)	sina	nan	
hawk (a)	kanēu	kanēu	
he	sia, na	sa[a], nia (Mal. *nya*)	ijan (Non.)
head	utak, ulu	uru [1]	ulu (Non.)
headland	t'monong [2]	t'monong	
hear (to)	kadingag	*n*anggla (*t*)	engkuliman
heave (anchor)	*m*init (*b*)	*ny*ikut (*s*)	(Sim.)
heavy	bagat	b'rat (Mal. id.)	
heel (to), (incline)	lingkid	t'ngiring [3]	
helm	ulin	kamudi (Mal. id.)	
help (to)	*n*olong (*t*)	*n*olong (*t*) (Mal.id.)	
hen	manok-dinandu	ayam-d'dor	
here	dagitu	diitu, ditu	
hide (to), (intrans.)	s'mbuni (Mal. id.)	*n*apu[a] (*t*)	
hide(to),(trans.)	*m*uni (*b*)	*pa*-napu[a]	
highway	dalan-tupal	jalan-raya (Mal. id.)	
hill	tidong	gunong (Mal. id.)	
hinder (to)	*ny*awai (*s*)	*nga*larāng	
hip	t'mpurong-apa[a]	t'mpurong-pah	
hit (to be), (*kĕná*, Mal.)	pilat	siwan	
hit (to), (strike)	*m*ambang (*b*)	*m*ambāng (*b*)	
hog	bakas-dalaki	baboi-laki (Mal. *bābi-jantan*)	

[1] Mal. (*h*)*ulu*; *vide* note 3, p. 77.

[2] *T'monong K'ris = Tanjong K'ris*, Mal., a promontory near Bolongan, so called, as the natives say, because a valuable *kris* was lost in the water there by the first settlers.

[3] Cf. Mal. *m'ngīring*, Javanese *nīring* (from stem *tring*).—F.

(*mīring* = 'all on one side' is common in the Malay of Borneo.—M. W. H. B.)

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
hoist (to)	*ng*angkat, *ng*a-san (*s*)	*ng*angkat (*s*) [1]	
hold	*ny*anggal (*s*)	*ng*agamon	
hold one's peace	mangau	j'na[a]	
hole	luang	lobãng (Mal. id.)	
hop (to)	*ny*amput (*s*)	*ny*'mput (*s*)	
hornbill	garuda[a]	garuda[a] [2]	
hot	lasu	panas (Mal. id.)	
house	balei	rumah (Mal. id.)	
how	s'náï	bat'nún	
how many	takula	kuda	
hull (of a boat)	ansi (-padau)	'nchi-kapŭl(Comp. Mal. *kapal*)	
hump-backed	k(um)anyang	k(um)'nyang	
hungry	dadusan	batiran	b'tilan (Non.)
hunt (to)	*ng*asu [3]	*ng*asu [3]	
hurl (to)	*pa-ng*-kĕlóng	*m*inggati (*p*)	
husband	dalaki	bana	kusai(Non.)
husk	ampas (Mal. id.)	'mpah [4]	
I	daka, aku, ku	aku, ku (Mal. id.)	dakan (Non.)
idle	buntilan	malas (Mal. id.)	
if	jika, ka	jika (Mal. id.), ka	jikan(Non.)
ignite (to)	*ny*ikit (*s*)	nyikit (*s*)	
ignorant	balingau	k'rungu	
ill	dual	tr'man	sadawan (Non.)
increase (to), (trans.) (size)	*pa*-tupal	*pa*-raya[a]	
indebted	b'rutang (Mal. id.)	bäutãng	
india-rubber	ula lisak	lula liche[a]	
inform (to)	*pa*-pandai	*pa*-tau	
inland (adj.)	da dumud	da sidaya	
inquire (to)	*ngan*tana	*ngan*tinya	
insolent	takabor	takbor [5]	

[1] For hoisting flags and the like Malays do not use *m'ngangkat* but *m'nghĕla*.—F.

[2] Comp. Mal. *garuda*, name of a fabulous bird in poetry, &c.—F.

[3] *ngasu*, *vide* note 2, p. 67.

[4] *'mpáh*. The final *s* in *ampas* is replaced by final *h*, a phenomenon seen in so many languages. Cf. Skr. nominative *manas*, mind, besides *manah* when in pausa, final *s* in Andalusian and South-Am. Spanish, &c.—F.

[5] Arabic تكبّر, pronounced in Malay *tak'búr* or *takdbur*.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
instruct (to)	*n*ulu (*t*)	*ng*ajar (*a*) (Mal. *m'ngajar*)	
insufficient	nupa ganap	kila g'nap (Comp. Mal. *g'nap*, complete)	
intention	niat, baniat	ma*a*sud[1], baniat (Mal. *b'rniat*)	
inter (to)	*ng*ubor[2] (*k*)	*ng*ubor (*k*)	
iron	basi	b'si (Mal. id.)	
is	sina	nan	
is not	nupa kamud	kila nan	
is it not?	kan (Mal. *bukan* or *'kan*)	ba*a*, bah	
it	sia, na	sa*a*, nia (Mal. *nya*)[3]	
itch (*kudis*)	kadul	kadul	
jar (℧), (small)	kibut	kibut	
jar (large), (*t'mpayan*)	pangkaran	pangkaran	
join (to)	*nya*mbong (*s*), *ny*uput (*s*)	*nya*mbong (*s*) (Mal. *m'nyambong*), *ny*uput (*s*)	
jump (to)	*nya*mput (*s*)	*nya*mput (*s*)	
jump down	t(am)undang	t(am)undāng	
jungle	taun	kayu,utan (Mal.id.)	
just now	d'danaï	indu	
juvenile	imbulak	muda (Mal. id.)	
keen (sharp)	ladam	tajam	
keep (to)	*n*alikor (*t*), *ng*itau (*a*), *n*amas (*t*)	*n*alikor (*t*), *n*ada (*t*)	

[1] Arabic مَقْصُود, pronounced in Malay *maksut*, the usual word for 'intention'.—F.

[2] Arabic قبور (*kubūr*, graves), *vide* note 3, p. 66.—F.

[3] Comp. *he*. In Mal. *nya* is only enclitic: *aku hènda*[e] *m'ngambil-nya*, 'I was going to take *it*' (or him, or her, or them), but then the pronoun is never emphatic. In the latter case Malay requires the forms *ia* and *dia*. Same relation between non-emphatic *-mu* (only used as a possessive pron.) and emphatic *èngkáu*, non-emphatic *ku* (also used as a personal pron.: *ku pukul*, I have beaten, and *aku yang m'mukul*, it was I who beat) and emphatic *aku*.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
kettle	sirit	chirit (Mal. id. or *chere*ᵉ)	
kick (to)	*ny*ipaᵉ (*s*)	*ny*ipeᵉ (*s*) (Mal. *m'nyēpa*ᵉ)	
kill (to)	*pa*-patai	*pa*-patai	
kind (sort)	tugus	upaᵉ	
kindred	pansulŭd	p'radi	
kiss (to)	*ng*adak (ᵉ)	*ng*adaᵉ (ᵉ)	
kitchen	tandang	dapuán[1], tandăng	dapúan
kite (paper)	marak	m'raᵉ[2]	(Non.)
kite (to fly)	bamarak	bam'raᵉ[3]	
kitten	anak-usi	aneᵉ-kuching	
knead (to)	*ng*aramas	*ng*acha (*k*)	
knee	atud	lutud	
kneel (to)	*ng*atud	*ng*alutud	
knife	lading[4]	lading[4]	
knife (large bladed)	pais	pais	
know (to)	pandai	pandai (Mal. id.)	
know (understand)	*ng*rati	*ng*arti (Mal. *m'ngarti*)	
know (*kenal*, Mal.)	biasa	biasa (Mal. = *accustomed, usual*)	
know (I don't)	itau	itau, 'ntau[5]	
knot	tabuku	tabuku (Mal. *buku*)	
knuckle	buku-lingagai	buku-lingagai	
labour	tugus	kuat (Mal. 'strong')	
lack (to)	korang	korăng (Mal. *kurăng*)	
ladder	tukad	tangga	
lade (out)	*ny*ayid (*s*)	*n*imbei (*t*)	

[1] Mal. *dapur*. It would seem as if there should be a slight uvular *r* sound in this word *dapŭan*, e. g. *dapuran*, but so far as I can ascertain, this is not so. [2] Comp. Mal. *m'raᵉ* (*mĕrak*), a 'peacock'.

[3] The Tarakan form *ba* seems to be a sporadically represented prefix (Mal. *bĕ* usually followed by 'euphonic' *r*).—F.

[4] *lading*, exactly the Javanese word, which is *not* frequently used in Malay (Mal. *pisau*).—F.

[5] Mal. *tāu lah aku!* 'What do I know about it?!' *'ntah dia atau sāya*, 'I don't know whether it is he or I.' *'ntah* is probably from *tāu*, with parasitic *'n*.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
laden(*sarat* M.)	lalab	sarat (Mal. id.)	
lame	pikai	pikai	
lament (to)	t(um)angi	*n*angis (*t*)	
lamp	palita[1]	palita (Mal. id.)	
lap (to)	*nga*jilat	*nga*jilat	
large	tupal	raya[2] (Mal. *raya* only in some compounds, *hari-raya*, *jalan-raya*, &c.)	
last night	d'dawi	peu luandu	
late	lambat	l'mbat	
lately	d'danai	indu	
laugh (to)	gadak	t'tawa (Mal. id.)	
lay (to), (place)	*ng*itau (*a*)	*n*ada (*t*)	
lay by (to)	*n*amas (*t*)	*n*amas (*t*)	
lay eggs (to)	*ng*'*n*talu	*ngan*t'lor (Mal. *b'tĕlor*)	
lazy	b'ntilan	malas (Mal. id.)	kapusan (Non.)
leach	limatak (Sul.)	limata[2]	
lead	timah mitam[2]	s'mbra mitam	
lead (to)	*ng*ibit (*a*)	*ng*ibit (*a*)	
leaky	lasanan	bunchur	lusanan (Sim.)
lean	t(um)ukal	kurus (Mal. id.)	
leap (to)	*ny*amput (*s*)	*ny*amput (*s*)	
learn	baguru	baguru (Mal. *b'guru*, to be with a master, to learn with one)	
leave (to)	*pa*-apong	*n*ada (*t*)	
leave (to), (go away)	t(um)ungal	barangkat (Mal. *b'rangkat*)	
leg	tanak	b'tis (Mal. 'calf of the leg' or 'shin')	
lend	*pa*-imbas	*pa*-injam[3]	

[1] In Borneo Malay *palita* is never used; always *lampo*. This is an instance of the originally introduced Malay word surviving.

[2] Mal. *timah hităm*.—F.

[3] In the Mal. stem *pĭñjam* there seems to be a prefix involved; compare *pangkat* and *angkat*, *pulang* and *ulang*, *palang* and *alang*, *palu* and *alu*, &c. Sporadic *pĕ* as denominative or causative prefix is still felt in *pĕ*(*r*)*tĕtap*(*kăn*), &c.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
length (Mal. *panjang-nya*)	buat-na	randu-nia	
lengthen (to)	*pa*-buat	pa-randu	
leprosy	puru [1]	puru [1]	
less	korang	korang (Mal. *kurang*)	
let (to), (allow)	bia' (Mal. *biar*)	kin	
lick (to)	[*see* lap]		
lid	tutub	tutup, tudong (Mal. *tudung*)	
lie down (to)	l'muid	pr'ubit	
lie on back (to)	kalangan	batila	
lie (a)	labut	bujar	
lift (to)	*ng*angkat (')	*ng*angkat (')	
light (day)	(m)ādau	(m)dau	
light (not heavy)	langga	m'ran	
light (to), (a torch)	*ny*ikit (*s*)	*ny*ikit (*s*)	
lightning	karijat	karijat	
like (alike)	'nggilud	'*m*pada	
like (to), (be fond of)	sadungan, guang	d'mpa'	
line (cord)	tabid	tali (Mal. id.)	
line (thread)	lawai	lawai (Day. id.)	
linger (to)	barumpak	barumpe'	
little (size)	lumat	ne'	
little (quantity)	miting	kăbăni'	mitit
live	*m*oyag (*b*)	mulun	(Non.)
lizard	sasak	chicha' (Mal. *ch'cha'*)	
load (to)	*ng*udan (')	*ng*udan (')	
long	buat	randu	
long time	buai	l'mbat (Mal. *lámbat*)	
look (to)	*ng*ilong(')	*n*'ngal (*t*)	
lose (to)	tatag	jawal	
lose (in play)	wali	kalah (Jav. id., Mal. *ālah*)	
low	disau	k'pa'	

[1] *pūru* in Mal. is only a pustule.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
low (in stature)	jēwa	k'pa*	
low water	timug matai	danum matai	
luggage	papaliawan		
mad	bēnan	gila (Mal. id.)	
maggot	ulad	urad (*see* worm)	
maid	anak-bujang	ane*-bujāng	
make (to)	*ngan*tugus[2]	[*ng*uat (*k*)] *ng*angkuat[1 2]	
make (to) (create)	*pa*-jadi	*pa*-jadi (Mal. *jādikān*)	*
make water (to)	s(um)abu	*ngan*ch'bu	
male	dalaki	laki (Mal. *laki*$_2$)	
man	ulun	ulun[3]	
mane (of a horse)	jambul	jambul (Mal. id.)	
many	suang	rabong	
many (how)	takula suang	kuda rabong	
marry	badulug	kawin (Mal. id.)	
marshy	lisak	liche*	
mast	ujak, takalak	ujak, takale*	
mat	ayam (Mal.'fowl')[4]	tikar (Mal. id.)	
matches	titikan	chulu* (Mal. *suluh*, a torch)	
matches (from flint)	p'ndidik	p'ndidik	
mattress	kasul	kasul (Mal. *kasur*)	
may (can)	kalap	kilom	
me	daka	aku (Mal. id.)	
mean (stingy)	saradik	ch'rdi*[5]	

[1] *ngangkuat.* The passive form of this verb, which should be **in-angkuat*, is not used, but its place is taken by the passive of *nguat*, *k-in-uat.* But perhaps *ngang* could be an irregular prefix before *k*, in which case the passives of both verbs would be *kinuat.*

[2] *ngangkuat*, to make *strong* (?). Comp. Mal. *kuat*, strong, from Arabic *quwwa*(*t*), قُوَّة, and Mal. *tĕguh*, steady, firm, strong.—F.

[3] Curious use of *ulun* in Malay as a very respectful word for *I.* Dayak, &c., *olo*, man.—F. [4] Comp. Mal. *ānyam*, *m'ngānyam*, to plait.—F.

[5] *ch'rdi** beautifully characterizes the Tidongs in their carelessness in money matters. Mal. 'cunning', 'clever.' If a Malay is *ch'rdi** to a Tidong, he will certainly try to cheat him, and so be 'mean' to him!—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
meander (to)	palid	lisau	
measure (to)	*ng*ukor (*s*)	*ng*ukor (*s*) (Mal. *m'ngukor*)	
meat	ansi	'nchi	
medicine	uwat	uwat (Mal. *ōbat*)	
meet (to)	intamu	bat'mu [1] (Mal. *bĕrt'mu*)	
melt (to)	l(um)anak	*ng*anchor (*s*) (Mal. *añchur*)	
mend (to)	*pa*-bais	*pa*-bai [2]	
mention (to)	*ny*abut (*s*)	*ny*'but (*s*), (Mal. *mĕny'but*)	
middle	tangah	t'ngah (Mal. id.)	
middling	sadang	s'dāng (Mal. id.)	
mild	lami	l'ma [2] (Mal. 'weak,' 'soft')	
mine	daka yampuna	aku símpunya	
miser	ulun saradik	ulun ch'rdi [2 3]	ulun bungkalitan (Sim.)
miss (to)	nupa pilat (see *hit*)	kila siwan	
mix (to)	*ny*ampur [3] (*ch*) or (*s*)	*ny*ampur (*ch*), (Mal. *m'ñchampur*)	
money (ready)	kuntan [4]	kuntan	
monkey	gabok	bukara, munyet (Mal. *monyèt*)	
moon-rise	bulan kasila	bulan munchit	
more	labih, iapir	l'bih (Mal. id.)	
morning	sumpul	subuh (Mal., time for morning prayer; from the Arabic)	
morrow (to-)	suab	sirip	
mother	ina	sine [2]	
mouldy	mutang	buntu	
mount (a horse)	*n*unggong (*t*) masak	*n*unggāng (*t*)	

[1] The *r* of *bĕrt'mu* is very slight (and 'uvular').—F.

[2] *nyampur*, derived verb from *sampur* or *champur*. Comp. Mal. *champur*. In Dayak (dict. Hardeland in voce), both forms are represented.—F.

In Bolongan this word is from *champur*; in Tarakan, where *ch* is generally pronounced as *s*, it may well be from either.—B.

[3] See note 5, p. 84.

[4] *kontan*, Dutch *contán*(*t*) (French *comptant*), is said all over the Dutch Indies for ready money, 'cash.'—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
mountain	tidong[1]	gunong (Mal. id.)	
mouse	tikus	b'labau	
mouth	kabang	băba	
move	(trans.) *pa*-insud : (intrans.) minsud	*pa*-kisar (trans.) bakisar (int.)	
much	suang	rabong	
mud	lisak	liche[2]	
must (I)	tantu	tantu (Mal. *t'ntu*, 'certainly')	
nail (finger)	sandap	s'ndulu[2]	sinsungud (Sim.)
naked	intalabas (Note 1, p. 69)	marbas	'ntarabas (Sim.)
name	ingalan[3]	ada[3]	
nape of neck	ipus	ipus	
narrow	silŭt	s'mpit	
navel	pusŭd	pusat (Mal. id.)	
near (time or place)	(m)ingkad	tumbal	
neck	liŭg	lihir (Mal. *leher*)	
need (to)	guang	agi	
needle	sasalut	jarum (Mal. id.)	
needless, it is (*ta usah* Mal.)	bia[2]-na katu, sa-ma-nia !	bagi-na !	
new	bagu	b'ru	
news (*khabar*)	aga	kăbar (Mal. id.)	
night	kēwan	malam (Mal. id.)	lendam (Sim.)
nimble	pasik, tikas	d'ras (Mal. = 'quick')	tuang (Non.)
nine	siam	siam	
nineteen	sapuloh-siam	sapuloh-siam	
ninety	siampuloh	siampuloh	
nip (to), (*chubit*)	*ng*adut (*k*)	*m*iut (*p*), chubit	
nip (to), (*pijit*)	*m*isak (*p*)	*m*asit (*p*)	

[1] *tidong* = a hill; *orang-tidong* = the hill men.

[2] Cf. Tarakan *tĭndúlu* = hand.

[3] Comp. Jav. *aran* (interchanging of medial *r* and *d* not uncommon), Dayak *ara*, &c. What I call Dayak is more properly Ngāju-Dayak, the only dialect of which there exists a dictionary and a grammar (by Dr. Hardeland). It is spoken along the Baritu river by about half a million people.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
nipa palm	parumpong	parumpong	
no	nupa	kila	tia (Non.)
no matter!	sama nia!	bagi na!	
no purpose	balingau	k'rungu	
nod (to)	*ng*onggap (*s*)	*ng*onggap (*s*)	
noise	biawan-suara	bising (Mal. id.), suara (Mal. id.), ingar (Mal. id.)	
none	nupa kamud	kila nan	
nose	adong	dong (Mal. *idong*)	
not (*tidak*)	nupa	kila (Mal. id.)	
not (*bukan*)	anda	ain, lain, bŭkan	kangka (Non.)
not yet	ta'pir, nupa pir	b'lum agi (Mal. *b'lom lāgi*)	
now	s'ndagitu	batitu	
oar (an)	busai, dayong	b'sai, dayong (Mal. the latter)	
occupied (busy)	gagau	gagau	
ocean	lautan	lautan (Mal. id.)	
odour	awau	bau (Mal. id.)	
odour (sweet)	lanyong	m'rum (Mal. *ā-rum*)	
oil	umau	l'nya [1] (Sulu id.)	
old (of persons)	tuŏ[2]	tua[2]	
old (of things)	buai	l'mbat	
only	kiar	la[2]	ki (Non.)
open (to)	*ny*ukab [2] (*s*)	*ng*alungkab	
opulent	kabalok	kaya (Mal. id.)	
order (to)	*ny*usŭb (*s*)	*ny*urah (*s*)	
other	anda	ain, lain (Mal. id.)	
out	dalual	d'luar	d'lwal (Non.)
out (to go)	s'(m)ila	*m*unchit (*p*)	
out (to put)	*pa*-sila	*pa*-punchit	
overturn (to)	*pa*-laub	*pa*-k'lap, *pa*-k'rap[3]	

[1] Comp. Javanese *l'ngā*, id. Mal. and Day. = sesam-seed from which oil is drawn. Mal. *l'ngā*; Day. *l'ngo*. Comp. Spanish *aceite*, oil (Arab. olive); Latin *oleum*, Eng. *oil*, connected with *olive*, &c.—F.

[2] Cf. Javanese *ungkap* and *ngungkap*.—F.

[3] Comp. Mal. *ti-ārap*, turned face downward, lying on its (his, her, their) face(s); *arap* being a collateral form of *adap*, front (side), and *tĭ* of *tĕ*, the prefix; *pa* would be replaced by the suffix *-kăn* in Malay, *tiārapkăn*.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
oyster (mangrove)	tiritip	tiritip	
pack (to)	*n*amas (*t*)	*n*amas (*t*)[1]	
paddle	busai	b'sai	bŭsei (No.)
paddle (to)	*ngam*busai	*ngam*b'sai	
padi (rice)	bilŭd	padai (Mal. *pādi*)	
palm of hand	t'lapak (Mal. id.)	t'lape[a]	
papaya fruit	manjan	manjan	badas (Non.)
pass by (to)	insaĭl	l'mabai	
pause (to)	b'ranti	br'nti (Mal. id.)	
pay (to)	*m*ayar[2] (*b*)	*m*ayar (*b*) (Mal. *m'mbāyar*)	
peck (to)	*m*atok (*p*) (Mal. *m'matu*[a])	*m*atok (*p*)	
peel (to)	*nga*likas	*nga*lanit	
penetrate (to)	pasut	t'mbus (Mal. id.)	
penis	butu[3]	utin[3]	
pepper	sabi	chabi (Mal. *chābay*)	
perhaps	ĭakaĭ	p'rase[a]	iakali (Sim. and Non.)
perspiration	umas	umas	
phlegm	sapon	s'pon	
pierce (to), (stab)	*ng*ajuk (*s*)[4]	*ng*aju[a][4]	
pierce (*chucho*[a])	*n*abak (*t*)[4]	*n*abāk (*t*)[4]	
pig	bakas	baboi (Mal. *bābi*)	
pillage (to)	*nga*rampas	*nga*rampas (Mal. *m'rampas*)	
pillow	obut	s'lipi	
pinch (to)	*ng*adut (*k*)	*m*iut (*p*)	

[1] Comp. Mal. *k'mas, bĕrk'mās*, id.—F.

[2] *mayar*. There is a probable relationship between Mal. *tawar*, 'to bid a price,' 'to weaken,' &c., and *bāyar*, to pay (*tĕ-āwar* and *bĕ-ayar*). Comp. Day. *tāhor*, to pay; Sund. *taur*, id.; Mediaeval Latin *pacare*, to pacify, to soothe; French *payer*; Spanish *pagar* and *apagar*, &c.—F.

[3] Comp. Day. *uti*, spout of a kettle, &c., and id. Also *butuh*, Mal. for the latter.—F.

[4] Comp. Mal. *tāju*[a] (*tājuk*) and Mal. *tāju* and *tañjong*, both expressing something protruding, something pointed (nail-points), &c. Also Mal. *tumba*[a], peak, spear.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
pine-apple	malaka[1]	malaka[1]	labungun (Non.)
pipkin (Mal. *kĭpsiau*)	chirit[2]	chirit[2]	
pith	umbut	umbut (Mal. id.)	
place	baya[3]	s'gal	
place (to)	*ny*itau (*s*)	*n*ada (*t*)	
plant (to)	*ngan*tanam	*ngan*tubus[3]	
plantain	punti	pisāng (Mal. id.)	
plate (Mal. *pinggan*)	lalai	lalai	
play (to)	bagumbak	bakori[4]	
play (to), (on strings)	*nga*gusuk	*nga*gusu[3] (M. *m'nggoso*[3], to rub)	
pleasant (to taste)	lamak	l'ma[3]	
please	guang	d'mpa	
plenty	suang	rabong	
pluck (to), (as of fruit)	*m*init (*b*), *ng*atu (*k*)	*n*ikut (*t*)	
plunge (to), (*terjun*)	t(am)undang	*ny*amput (*s*)[5]	
pocket	kasikan	kantong (Mal. id.)	
point (to)	*n*unjuk (*t*)	*n*unju[3] (*t*) (Mal. *m'nunju*[3])	

[1] It is very curious, if this points to the place where they are supposed to come from. The m'laka tree (Mal.), after which the town Malacca must have been named, is of course quite another plant, and cannot have been confounded with the pine-apple. Many places in Malaya are called after animals or plants (*Sĕngkāwang*, in W. Borneo, = *tĕngkāwang*, *Landak*, id., *Kuching* in Sarawak, *M'nt'rādu* ('Montrado'), *Tĕlok-Bĕtung* in Sumatra, the renowned *Mājāpāit*, of which the ruins of *Singāsari*, not far from *Sūrabāya* in Eastern Java, show us the remnants of its capital (near *Mājāwarnā*, another fruit-name), &c.).—F.

[2] Comp. Mal. *chīrit* or *chèrèt* or *chèrèk*, id.—F.

[3] Comp. Mal. *tumbuh*, to grow (intrans.), and *tubuh*, body (the thing grown, growth).—F.

[4] This prefix *ba* seems sporadic in Bol., being more frequent in Tar., but it must be intransitive when meant as a verbal one.—F.

[5] *nyamput* also = *lompat*, Mal. There seems to be no word to distinguish plunging and jumping; for the former, Malays say *m'nyĕlam*(*s*), if diving is meant.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
porpoise	k'rētan [1]	krētan	
pot	kulan	priok (Mal. *p'riu*[a])	
potato	sabai	sabai	
pound (to)	*m*aba[a] (*p*)	n'tu (*t*)	
pour (to)	*n*uang (*t*)	nuāng (*t*) (Mal. *m'nuang*)	
prau	padau [2]	bidu[a] (Mal. id., a small fishing-boat)	
prawn	tatunduk	tatundu[a]	
pregnant	katian [3]	bunting (Mal. id.)	
prepare (to)	*pa*-s'dia	*pa*s'dia (Mal. *s'di-akăn*)	
presently	'njakin	nyambil (Mal. *sambil*)	s'njakin (Non.)
press (to)	*ng*injak (*k*) (Mal. *m'nginja*[a], to tread upon)	*ng*anya[a] (*a*)	
pretty	bajajak	bajijah	
prohibit (to)	*ny*awai (*s*)	*nga*larāng (Mal. *m'lārang*)	
promontory	t'munong	t'munong	
prone (to lie)	l(um)aub [4]	mangk'rap [cf. Mal. *ti-ārap*]	
property	baluk	herta (Mal. id.)	
provisions	ungkus	ungkus, balun	
proud	t'kabor [5]	ta'kbor	
pudenda	kayuan		

[1] In Mal. *k'ritang* is what the Dutch call 'brown fish' (*bruinvisch*) or peasant with his pigs' (*boer met zyn varkentjes*). I suppose the name was originally a Malay name, but Swettenham gives *lumba-lumba* for 'porpoise', a denomination no doubt in connexion with the *racing* these fishes do with their numerous attendants, as *lumba-lumba* means *race*.—F.

[2] *padau*. Here again the *r* and *d* interchange. Mal. *p'rahu* (*p'rau*).—F.

[3] Comp. Mal. *'mpu-n-tiāna*[a], the 'Lady of the pregnant', a bad genius harassing pregnant women (the capital of Western Borneo, *Pontianak*, is called after her). Comp. *tian* in Minangkabau (W. Sumatra) = 'womb', especially of a pregnant woman. It seems to be a corruption of *ti-āna*[a], 'bechilded', *ti* being a collateral form of *tĕ*(*r*), prefix, also to be found in *tiāda* and *tiārap*, &c.—F.

[4] *lumaub*. The root *laub* conveys the idea of deviation from one's proper position. Cf. *palaub*, to overturn, &c.

[5] Arabic تكبر, infinitive of the fifth verbal form. Many infinitives from the A. are so used in M. and other Mal.-Polynesian languages as *nouns*

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
pudendum muliebre	badi	puki	
pull (to)	*m*init (*b*)	*n*ikut (*t*)	
pull (down)	*m*aba (*p*)	*n*ubãng (*t*)	
pulp (of fruit)	lunak (Mal. *luna*ˢ)	luneˢ	
pummel (to)	*ny*intok (*s*)	*ny*intoˢ (*s*)	
pungent	padas	p'das (Mal. id.)	
purpose	puksa	paˢsa	
pursue (to)	*n*urus (*t*)	*nga*gimpar	
push (to)	*n*olut (*t*)	*n*uleˢ (*t*)	
put (to)	*ng*itau (ˢ)	*n*ada (*t*)	dumpal (Sim.)
put out (a light)	*nga*lasa	*m*adam (*p*) (Mal. *m'madamkăn*)	
putrid	bangas	buntu	
quake (to)	talintig	g'mtar (Mal. id.)	
quarrel (to)	inggabu	babakau	ngabuh (Sim.)
quick	tikas	d'ras (Mal. id.)	
quid (of betel)	iwŭg (*also* saliva)	roja	
quiet	mangau	j'naˢ [1]	
quite	kapayang	t'ngan	
(a question)	ki	kaˢ	ki (Sim.)
race (to)	barumba	barumba (Mal. *b'lumba-lumba*)[2]	
rain	dasam	dasam	impalud (Sim.)
rain (to)	d(um)asam		
rainbow	balintong	b'lintong	
raise (to)	*ng*angkat (ˢ)	*ng*angkat (ˢ) (Mal. *m'ngangkat*)	
raise (to), (Mal. *bangun-kăn*)	*pa*-kadat	*pa*-batun	
raise (to), (Mal. *mendiri-kăn*)	*pa*-kindi	*pa*-tubun	
raise (to), (Mal. *m'nuwas*)	*ng*umpil (ˢ), *ny*ongkit (*s*)	*ny*ongkit (*ch*)	

or even as *verbs* (finite). Comp. *takdīr* (inf. second form), *ta'alluq* (inf. fifth form), &c. The Mal. pronunciation of *takábbur* is *tăk'búr* or *takábur*.—F.

[1] Comp. Mal. *jinak* (ˢ), tame, meek.—F.

[2] Comp. note 1 on p. 90: the porpoise is constantly 'racing' with its followers.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
ransom (to)	*n*abus (*t*)	*n*abus (*t*), (Mal. *m'nĕbus*)	
rapid (*dras*)	mulu	d'ras (Mal. id.)	
rat	tikus (Mal. id.)	b'labau	
rattan	awai	wai	
raw	mata[a]	matah (Mal. *m'ntah*)	
reach (to)	kasabai	matang	
read	'*m*bacha	*m*acha (*b*)	masa (Sim. and Non.)
really	manang-manang	t'ngan-t'ngan	
receive (to)	*n*'rīma (*t*)	*n*rimā (Mal. *m'nrima*)	
recline (to)	l'muid	p'rubit	
red	lia	d'rāng	
relation	p'nsulud	p'radi[a]	
release (to)	*pa*-labus	*pa*-l'pas (Mal. *m'lĕpas-kăn*)	
remain (to)	(m)apong	t('m)ada	
remind (to)	*pa*-ingat	*pa*-ingat (Mal. *ingatkăn*)	
rend (to)	minsang (*b*)	miris (*p*)	
repair (to)	*pa*-bais	*pa*-bai[a] (Mal. *m'mbaikkăn*)	
repayment (to ask for)	*ny*ingil (*s*)	*ny*ingil (*s*)	
replace (to)	*nga*ganti	*nga*ganti (Mal. *m'ngganti*)	
replete	masug	b'sur	
reply (to)	*nga*jawab	*nga*jawab	
request (to)	malak	*nga*laku	
resin	salang	damar (Mal. id.)	
resist (to)	*nga*pu (*a*)	*nga*lawan (Mal. *m'lawan*)	
restore (to)	*pa*-duli	*pa*-puni	
restrain (to)	*ng*antan (*a*)	*ng*antan (*a*)	
return (to), (*pulang*)	muli[1] (Jav. *mulih*)	muni[1]	
return (to), (*balik*)	m'nduli[2]	babali[a] (Mal. *balik*)	

[1] *muli* and *muni* are intransitives with *m'*(*a*) prefix. Hence *pa-puni* with doubled *pa* prefix. Comp. Jav. *mulih*, from *ulih*.—F.

[2] Cf. *dulin*, the rudder, i. e. the 'thing behind'; Mal. *kamudi*.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
rice (*b'ras*)	bagas	b'ras (Mal. id.)	
rice (*padi*)	bilŭd	padai	
rice (to sift)	*ng*ayak (*s*)[1]	*ng*aie[s] (*s*)	
rich	kabalok	kaya (Mal. id.)	
right (*betul*)	manang	t'ngan	tápat (Non.)
right (*kanan*)	pamagat	kanan (Mal. id.)	
rim	bibil	bibir	
ring	sinsin	chinchin (Mal. id.)	
ripe	mansak	m'nche[s] (Mal. *masak*)	
ripe (un-)	mata[s]	matah (vide *raw*)	
rise (to)	masak	sabi	
rise to surface	l(um)ampo[2]	t'm'nal	
river	sungei	sungei (Mal. *sungai*)	
roar	intraïs	intraïs	
roast (to)	*ny*alai[3] (*s*)	*ny*alai (*s*)	
rob (to)	nakau (*t*)	*n*akau (*t*)	
robber	(later) p'nakau	p'nakau	
roll (to) (*m'ng-guling*)	*ng*aliling	*ng*aguling	
roll (*m'nggu-long*)	*ng*adulun	*ng*alukun	
roof (to)	*ng*atap (*s*)	*ng*atap (*s*) (Mal. *atap* = 'roof')	
room (a)	kamar	kamar (Dutch)	sarang (Sim.)
root (a)	babakag	babakag	
rope	tabid	tali (Mal. id.)	(Mal. = 'nest')
rotten	mutang, bangas	babau, basi (Mal. id.), buntu	
rough	kapar	kapar	
round	limpong	buntar (Mal. id.)	
rudder	ulin	kamudi (Mal. id.)	
run (to)	manturus	bagimpar	
run against	barumpak	barumpe[s]	
run away	midu	darēu	
rusty	batitai	bat'tāi (Mal. *b'rtāi* or *b'kārat*)	

[1] Cf. Mal. *aya*[s], id., *m'ngaya*[s].—F.
[2] Infix *um* (Mal. *ĕm*, Jav. *um*), intransitive.—F.
[3] In Mal. 'to smoke' (meat, fruits), *pisang sālay*.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
sago	natak	sagu (Mal. id.)	
saliva	iwŭg	roja	
salt	(m)asin (Mal. id.)	asin (Mal. id.), garam (only subst.)	
same	inggilŭd	'mpada	ngyad (Non.)
sand	agis	agis	
sarong	gabal	gabal	
satiate (to)	*pa*-asug	*pa*-b'sor	
satiated	masug	b'sor	
savage	siŭg	kangar	
say (to), (*kata*)	dagu	tusul	
scare (to)	*ng*ajut (*k*)	*ng*ajut (*k*) (Mal. *m'ngèjut-kăn*)	
scented	lanyong	m'rum (Mal. *ărum*)	
scorpion	antip-kala	antip-kalah	
scratch (to)	*ng*okut (*k*)	*ng*agaru (Mal. *m'nggāru*[a])	
scurf (*daki*)	lili	lili	
sea	lautan	lautan (Mal. id.)	tingkayu (Sim.)
search	'*ng*gium	*ngang*kulau	
see (to)	*ang*gilong	*n*'ngál (*t*) [1]	langei (Non.)
see (*nampa*[a])	katada	kat'mu	kalong (Non.)
seed	umi	kuyum	
seize (to)	*nga*dakap	*n*akap (*t*)	
seldom	langkang	jarāng (Mal. id.)	
self	kabatit	kadiri	
sell (to)	*pa*-alan	*pa*-b'li (Mal. *b'likăn*)	
send (to), (*kirim*)	*pa*-ibit	*ng*irim (*k*), (Mal. *kirim*)	
send (to), (*antar*	*ng*atad (*s*)	*ng*antar (*s*)	
separate (to)	insuai	bat'dāi	
serpent	m'ndi pa[a]	nyipar	
servant (slave)	lipan	lipan	
settle (to)	*ny*alasai (*s*)	*ny*alasai (*s*) (Mal. *m'nyalèsai-kăn*)	telesai (Non.)
seventy	tujumpuloh	tujumpuloh	
sew (to)	*ny*alut (*s*)	*ny*amat (*s*) (Mal. *s'mat*, 'pin')	
shadow	lindada	bayang-bayang (Mal. id.)	

[1] Comp. high Jav. *ningal* (from *tingal*), id.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
shaft (of weapons)	utak	uru	
shake (to)	*nga*longai	*ng*aroyau (*a*)	
shall	guang	agi	
shallow	tangka, l'sakán	tangka	
shame	miwan	nyadap	
sharp	ladam	tajam (Mal. id.)	
she	sia ; na	sa*a* ; nia	
sheath	angkap	sarong (Mal. id.)	
shell (periwinkle)	kasiput [1]	kachiput	
shell (cockle)	p'lilit	p'lilit	
shiver (to)	talintig	g'mtar (Mal. id.)	
shoot (to)	*m*ajil (*b*)	*m*ajil (*b*) *n*imbe*a* (*t*) (Mal. *m'némba*a)	
shoot (with blow-pipe)	*ny*apak (*s*)	*ny'*put (*s*)	
shore	bibil-lautan	bibir-lautan	
short	jēwa	p'nda*a* (Mal. *panda*a)	
shoulder	likip	likip	limbawa
shove (to)	*n*ulut (*t*)	*n*ule*a* (*t*)	(Sim.)
show (to)	*n*unjuk (*t*)	*n*unju*a* (*t*) (Mal. *m'nunju*a)	
shrimp	tatunduk	tatundu*a*, kakudas	
shut (to)	*n*utub (*t*)	*n*udong (*t*)	tutobei
sick	dual	p'das	(Non.)
silent (be)	mangau	j'na*a*	
sink (to)	l(um)asŭd	m'rap	lasad(Sim.)
sister (elder)	iaka-dinandu	singke*a*-d'dor	
sister(younger)	iadi-dinandu	sadi*a*-d'dor	
sit (to)	t(am)udong [2]	madu*a*	
sky	kuanan	langit (Mal. id.)	
slave	lipăn	lipăn	
sleep (to)	malang	tingidi	
sleepy	kadandungal	katundun	
slow	layut	l'mbat (Mal. *lambat*)	

[1] *kasiput, kachiput,* Mal. *siput.* The *kă* or *kĕ* is a prefix commonly found in names of plants, animals, &c.—F.

[2] Mr. W. Aernout in his small Tidong vocabulary gives *antoedoeng* (in the spelling of this book = *antudong*).—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
small	lumat (Mal. powdery, pulverized)	ni[a]	
smell (trans.)	*ng*adak ([a])	*ng*ada[a] ([a])	
smoke	lisun	lisun	
smooth	lamŭg	lichin (Mal. id.)	
snake	m'ndipa[a]	nyipar	
snap (to)	*m*utul (*p*)	*m*isu (*p*)	ujor (Sim.)
snare (to)	*ng*ajarat	*ng*aj'rat (Mal. *m'njĕrat*)	
snatch (to)	'ngganggau (Mal. *m'nggagau*)	baramas	
sneeze (to)	marasin	m'rsin (Mal. *bĕr'sin*)	
snore (to)	tinggarok	t'nggarú[a]	
so	s'ndagina	b'tinan	
soak (to)	*ng*abug ([a])	*ng*ar'ndam (Mal. *m'rĕndam*)	
soft	lami	l'ma[a] (Mal. *lĕmah* = 'weak')	
son	anak-dalaki	ane[a]-laki	
sort	tugus	upah	
sound	suara	suara (Mal. 'voice')	
sour	(m)asam	m'ncham[1]	
speak (to), (*chakap*)	*ng*adagu	*ngan*tusul	
speak (to), (*kata*)	dagu	tusul	
spear	ganjul, tombak	ganjul, tombak (Mal. *tumba*[a])	
spider	tangkarawa	tangkarawa	
spill (to)	*ny*aud (*s*)	*n*ongkap (*t*)	
split (to)	*m*adak (*b*)	*m*ila (*b*) (Mal. *m'mbĕlah*)	
sprinkle	*ny*ambor (*s*)[1]	*ny*imbor (*ch*)[1] (Mal. *m'nyĕmbur*)	
squeeze (to)	*m*isak (*p*)	*m*'sít (*p*)	
squint-eyed	mata-bilau	mata-juling (Mal. id.)	
stairs	tukad	r'ján	tukan
stake (a)	ujak	turus (Mal. id.)	(Non.)

[1] As before pointed out, a *ch* in Bol. is invariably an *s* in Tar.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
stand (to)	k('m)indi	batuban	
stay (to), (*nanti*)	*ng*along (ª)	*n*unggu (*t*), (Mal. *tunggu*)	
stay (to), (*tinggal*)	(m)apong	t('m)ada	
steal	*ngan*takau	*n*akau (*t*)	
step (a)	tingkang	lingkar (Mal. *langkah*)	bungkalitan (Sim.)
stern (of a boat)	ulin		
stingy	saradik	ch'rdiª (Mal.= 'clever')	
stomach (see belly)	tinai	t'nai, butit	
story	tingkat	tingkat (Mal. id.)	
straight	tulid	lurus (Mal. id.)	tulig (Sim.)
strangle (to)	*ny*akak (*s*)	*ny*akeª (*s*) (Mal. *m'nchĕkeª*)	
stream (down)	dalong	sarut	
strike (to)	*m*ambang (*b*), *m*angil (*b*)	*m*'mbāng (*b*)	
string	tabid	tali (Mal. id.)	
strong (*kuat*)	mikang	t'ger	panggal (Non.)
struggle (to)	*ng*apu (ª)	*ng*alawan (Mal. *m'lawan*)	
stupid	balingau	k'rungu	
subtract (to)	*n*olut (*t*)	*n*oleª[1]	
suck (to)	*ny*asap (*s*)	*ng*isap (ª)	
sugar cane	tabu	t'bu (Mal. id.)	
sun	mata-*n*-adau	mata-s'dat	
swallow (to)	*n*álan (*t*)	n'lán (*t*) (Mal. *m'nĕlán*)	
sweat	umas	p'luh (Mal. id.)	
sweep(to)	*m*apas (*p*)	*m*apas (*p*)[2]	
sweet	mamis[3] (Sund. *amis*)	mís	
swell (to)	l(um)antob		
swim (to)	insaduī		
tail	ingkui	inkoï	

[1] Cf. Mal. *tolaª*, id., *m'nolaª*.

[2] Comp. Day. *papas*, *mamapas*, id., and Mal. *m'mapas*, to take off, to doff.—F.

[3] Note intransitive prefix *m*(*a*), *mamis*. Malay |*m*|*anis*, to be sweet.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
take (to)	*ng*alap (ª)	*ng*alap (ª)	
talk (to)	dagu	tusuł	
tall (*panjang*)	buat	randuª	
tall (*tinggi*)	sawat	s'mbau	
tame	magap	jineª (Mal. *jinaª*)	
tangle (to)	sagut	kosut (Mal. *kusot*)	
teach (to)	*n*ulu (*t*)	*ng*ajar (ª) (Mal. *m'ngājar*)	
tear (to)	*m*insang (*b*)	*m*iris (*p*)	
tell (to) (*bilang*)	*ngam*bala	*pa*-tau, matau	s'ndagunali
tell (*p'san*)	*ngam*bilin	*m*asan (*p*) (Mal. *m'mĕsan*)	(Non.)
testicles	umin-tali	koyum-t'lir[1]	
that (pron.)	gina	itu (Mal. id.)	
there	da-gina, da-danai	ditu, didi, da idi	
they	ila	sida	
thick	kapar	kapar	
thief	p'nakau	p'nakau	bautaka-
thigh	apaª	pah (Mal. *paha*)	wan(Sim.)
thin (*kurus*)	t(um)ukal	kurus	
think	*m*ikir (*p*)	*m*ikir (*p*)	
think (intr.)	bapikir	bapikir	
thirsty	puah	puah	
thirty	talumpuloh	t'lumpuloh	
this	gitu	inan	
thread	lawai	lawai	
throat	liŭg	lihir (Mal. *leher*)	siga (Sim.)
through	m'njul	lanjar	
throw (to)	*m*abul (*b*)	*m*uāng (*b*) (Mal. *m'mbuang* = 'to throw away')	
tide (flowing)	timug-luab	danum-ruab	
tide (ebbing)	timug-murut	danum-urut	
tie (to)	*nga*dokug	*ng*inggat (ª)	
tiger	masan		
time	t'mpo	t'mpo (Mal. *tempo*) (from Port.)	singgan (Sim.)
times	ingki[2]	kali	iganda
tired	mumpai	lumu	(Sim.)
to	da	da, ka	

[1] Comp. Mal. *p'lir*, penis.—F.
[2] *ingki takulah* = *b'rapa kali* (Mal.).

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
tobacco	sigup	t'mbaku (Mal. *t'mbakau*)	
tobacco (cigarette)	odut	isap (Mal. *m'ngisap*, 'to suck,' 'to smoke')	
to-morrow	suab	sirip	
to-morrow (day after)	suab-anda	dumpau	
to-morrow (4 days after to-day)		sabon	
tongue	jila	jila (Mal. *m'njilat* = 'to lick')	dila (Sim.)
too	kaninjulu	kangangaluan	
tooth	ipan	ipan	
touch (to)	*ny*anggal (*s*)	*ngag*amon	
towards	simpotul, s'mbial	s'mbila	
trample (to)	*ng*idau (*k*)	nginje[a] (Mal. *m'nginja*[a])	
trap (to)	*ny*arakap (*s*)	*ny*arkap (*s*)	
tray (with legs)	tabak (Mal. id.)	tabe[a]	
tree	opun	po (Mal. *poko*[a])	
true	kapayang, manang	b'nar't'ngan	
trust (to)	p'rsaya	p'rchaya (Mal. id.)	
try	*ng*inyam (*k*)	*ngan*chuba (Mal. *m'nchoba*)	
tuba-root	tua	tua (Mal. *tuba*)	
turn (*putar*)	*m*utar (*p*)	*m*utar (*p*) (Mal. *m'mutar*)	
turn (*pusing*)	*m*using (*p*)	*m*using (*p*) (Mal. *m'musing*)	
uncle	pansulŭd-iama	p'radi[a]-tame[a]	
under	da-disau	da-diba	
understand	*ng*arati (*s*)	*ng*arti (*s*) (Mal. *m'ngarti*)	
unfasten	*ny*ukab (*s*)[1]	*ng*alungkap	
unload	*ny*alin (*s*)	*m*indah (*p*) (Mal. *m'mindahkăn* = 'to move')	

[1] Cf. Jav. *ng*ungkabi, to open, to unfasten.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
unripe	mata[a], imbula[a]	m'ntah (Mal. *m'ntah*)	
until	kasabai	matang	
untrue	labut	bujar	
upon	sawat	s'mbau	
upset	k'laub	k'lap	
,, (to)	*pa*-laub	*pa*-k'lap	
urine	timug-sasabu	danum-ch'bu	
us	dama	kami	
use (to)	*m*akai (*p*)	*m*akai (*p*) (Mal. *m'makai*)	
useful	bakasiat	b'rguna (Mal. *b'rguna*)	
vain (in)	p'liawan	papiau	
various	tugus-tugus	jinis-jinis[1]	
village	pagun	b'nua (Mal. 'country')	
void (to)	t(um)ai	*m*injau (*p*)	
vomit (to)	garua	muntah (Mal. id.)	lamua (Sim.)
wager (to)	basiwa	basiwa	
waist	awak[2]	awe[a]	
wait (*nanti*)	dinai	nini	
wake	kadat	batun	lokau
walk	makau	'*m*panau	(Non.)
want (to)	guang	d'mpa[a]	
wash	*m*agu (*b*)	*m*asuh (*b*) (Mal. *m'mbasuh*)	
wash (clothes)	*m*upu (*p*)[3]	*m*upu (*p*)[3]	
wash (*mandi*)	*m'n*jēu	*m'n*dus	*m*ajeu
watch (to)	*nga*jaga	*nga*jaga (Mal. *m'ndjagai*)	(Non.)
water	timug	danum	
water (fresh)	timug pala[a]	danum tawar (Mal. *air tawar*)	

[1] Mal. Arab. *j'nis-j'nis*, a corruption of *jins*, جنس, Arab.
[2] Cf. Jav. *awa[a]*, body.—F.
[3] Cf. Dayak *papok*.—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
water melon	ndikai	indikai (Mal. *k'm'ndikai*)	
water (to)	*n*ias (*t*)	*n*ias (*t*)	
wave	nawak	nyaba[a]	
wax	dilin	lilin (Mal. id.)	
weep	t(um)angi[1]	*n*angis (*t*) (Mal. *m'nangis*)	
well (*p'rigi*)	talaga	talaga (Mal. 'hole,' Jav. 'pool')	sumbolan (Sim.)
what?	nusaï	nun	ngun (Non.) kan (Sim.)
when?	s'nggilan	midan	
when (conj.)	pŭngur	pupus(na)	
where?	manaï *or* da-manaï	ma[a] *or* da-ma[a]	kuana (Non.)
where	manaï *or* da-manaï	ma[a]	
whet (to)	*nga*gilir	*nga*gilir	
which (rel.)	anu	anu (Mal. *N. N.*)	
which?	manaï	ma[a]	
white	pulak	pute[a] (Mal. *puteh*)	
who?	si[2]	sin[2]	sai (Sim.)
who = which, that (rel.)	anu	anu	
why?	kanaï, kaïpa[a]	main	kaïpah (Sim.)
wicked	malat (Jav. *ala* id.)	b'jit	alat (Non.)
wide	luas (Mal. id.)	luas	
wife	iandu	dul[3]	
wild	siga[a]	liar (Mal. id.)	
win (to)	manang	m'nāng (Mal. id.)	
wind	bareu	bareu	
wing	alad	alar, sayap (Mal. *sayap*)	

[1] *tumangi*, infix *um*; cf. Javanese, &c., and notes to p. 93.—F.

[2] *Si* in Malay is a demonstrative used as a sort of article to personify qualities: *Si Bongkok, Si Pañjang, Si Sakit, Si Timpang.* Monosyllables in M.-P. languages interchange meanings as:

according to the language in which they occur { 1. demonstratives. 2. pronouns. 3. negative or affirmative adv., or other adv. ('not yet', 'already,' &c.). 4. prepositions.

Comp. the various meanings of *ka, ta*, &c.—F.

[3] *dul*, cf. Javanese *dol*, 'to sell.'—F.

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English.	*Tarakan.*	*Bolongan.*	*Other Tid. Dialects.*
wink (to)	*ng*ijat (*k*)	*ng*ijat (*k*)	
with	maya, ambaya	müngka, pada-pada	
woman	dinandu	d'dor	duandu (Non.)
womb (to carry in)	*ng*andong[1] (*k*)	*ng*andong[1] (*k*)	
wood	taun	kayu (Mal. id.)	
word	dagu	ibu	
work (to)	*ngan*tugus	*ng*angkuat[2]	
worm	ulad (Mal. *ulat*)	urad	
wound	pilat	siwan	
wretched one! (exclamation implying reproof, not pity)	duraka!	duraka! (Mal. id.)	
write	*n*ulis (*t*)	*n*ulis (*t*) (Mal. *m'nulis*)	
yawn	*ng*uab (')	*ng*uab (') (Mal. *m'nguap*)	
year	musim	musim (Mal. 'season')	
yellow	silo	kuning (Mal. id.)	
yes	ah (see p. 40)	(see p. 40)	mau (Sim.)
yesterday	d'dawi	peu-du	
yesterday (day before)	d'dawi-anda	peu-luandu	ddaüli (Non.)
you	dudu, -mu, ka'	ika, kah, -mu	ta (Sim.) ijun (Non.)
young	'mbulak	m'ngut	bambulak (Sim.)

[1] Comp. Mal. *m'ngandung*, to carry in a bag, or to be pregnant of, and Day. *kandong*, *mangandong*, id.—F.

[2] Cf. notes 1, 2, to p. 84.

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APPENDIX

By Dr. A. A. FOKKER

It may be useful to add a few remarks to Mr. Beech's Grammar and Vocabulary.

If we consider the phonetic system of Tidong, and compare it with that of two cognate languages, Dayak and Malay, we shall find many points of resemblance.

The table on p. 104 may give an idea of the sounds of Tidong.

§ 1. Phonetic System.

As to the vowels, the only slight difference from the Malay is to be seen in the greater frequency of the sounds *ó* and *ò*, which indeed in Malay are very rare; *é*'s and *è*'s are just as scarce as in Malay; whereas the overwhelming majority of words contain no vowels other than *a*, *i*, or *u*. Some of the words that are given in the vocabulary as containing *o*'s, especially in the root-syllables, may in reality have an *u* sound; so, for instance, the word *tidong* (on p. 85) for 'mountain,' which is also the name of the country where 'Tidong' is spoken. The Dutch, in fact, write this name *Tidoeng* on their maps, meaning by *oe* the sound of Malay 'surd *u*', as I call it in my *Malay Phonetics*. A more accurate designation would be 'low *u*', in opposition to high *u* as heard in Malay *rumput* (first syllable), grass. This word, common to both languages, contains both types of *u*, as do also *burung*, the Malay word for bird, and others.

So-called diphthongs are rare, just as in Malay. We meet with—

ày: *kasabay*, to come; *bālay*, house (in the vocabulary *balei*);
àw: *mindaw*, to descend (in the voc. *mindau*);
òy: *sāloy*, cold (in the voc. *saloi*);
ùy: *iŋkùy*, tail (in the voc. *inkui*).

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PHONETIC SYSTEM.

		Pharyngal.	Palatals.				Dentals.				Labials.	
			Velar	Post-	Medio-	Pre-	Super-		Sub-			
VOWELS.	low			ò	a	a					ò	
				ó	ă	è					ó	
	high			ù		é					ù	
				ú		i					ú	
CONSONANTS.		surd | sonant	surd | sonant	surd | sonant	surd | sonant	surd | sonant	surd	sonant	surd	sonant	surd	sonant
	mutes.	ʾ1 | ʾ2		k | g before the above vowels	k | g before the above vowels	k | g before the above vowels	**t**	d	t	**d**	p	b
	nasals.	$\bar{n}_1$ | $\bar{n}_2$ (ng)	$\bar{\mathbf{n}}_1$ | $\bar{\mathbf{n}}_2$ (ng)	η_1 | η_2 (ng)			$\mathbf{n}_1$ $\tilde{\mathbf{n}}$ (ny)	$\mathbf{n}_2$ $\tilde{\mathbf{n}}$	$_1$ $_1$ (ny)	$\mathbf{n}_2$ $\tilde{\mathbf{n}}_2$	m_1	m_2
	fricatives or spirants.	h_1 | h_2	r_1 | r_2			y_1 y_2	**s**	**ẓ**	s	**z**	w_1	w_2
	laterals or marginals.						l_1	l_2	$\mathbf{l}_1$	$\mathbf{l}_2$		
	affricates.						**c** (ch)	**j**	c (ch)	j		

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The last two are extremely rare, as in Malay; *oy* occurs somewhat more frequently in Bolongan (*bāboy*, pig, &c.). It should be remarked that we have actually to do with simple *closed syllables* when these 'diphthongs' are preceded by a consonant. Then they are only heard *at the end of a word*, just as in Malay.

If we choose to call these combinations diphthongs, syllables ending in a^s, i^s, &c., or *ah*, *ih*, &c., may be said to contain diphthongs just as well. And so on. Indeed, a correct understanding of the nature of these finals will put the two classes on the same level. They also interchange with other finals in cognate languages, the one as well as the other:—

iŋkuy, tail, with Dayak *ikoh*, Malay *ékor* (uvular *r*);
lāway, cotton thread, with Mal. *dawat*, wire;
mindaw, to descend, Jav. *m'nda*^{s}, to come down, to stoop.

N.B.—In the vocabulary *ày* and *āī* (*bāīs*), *àw* and *āiü* (*māu*^{s}), *uy* and *uï* (*l'muid*) are spelled identically. Of course in words as *bāīs*, *māüs*, and *l'muid*, we hear *two* syllables every time, whereas *kuy*, *way*, *daw*, &c., only form *single* syllables.

We notice the same character of the 'semi-vowels' as in Malay, i. e. *h*, *y*, and *w* never are found as initials after a pause or a consonant, being always pure *spirants* or *fricatives*, whereas English *h*, *y*, and *w* as initials (house, yard, wire) more approach the character of *mutes* (explosives). Dutch *h* and *j* as initials (*h* and *y* in English) are often identified by Malays, and also by Tidongs, with *k* and *j*: so *kēran* in Tidong for *hēran* (Arabic, where this *h* is exactly the English *h* as an initial). Dutch initial *w* (identical with German initial *w*), and Spanish or Portuguese initial *v*, are heard by Malays, and also by Tidongs, as *b*: Portuguese *viola*, violin, has become *biōla* in Malay.

Another feature common to Tidong and Malay, Dayak, and many other Indonesian languages, is this:

All final consonants are surd.

Indeed, I venture to assert that the few instances of words given in the vocabulary and ending in a sonant consonant must be erroneously heard. So *kamud* and *lingkid* ought to be written *kāmut* and *lingkit* (or perhaps *kāman* and *lingkin*?), *susub* ought to be *susup*. As to final *g*, I suppose it is a wrongly heard uvular *r*, consequently

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a surd *fricative*, just as it is heard at the end of Malay words. Confusion with the sonant explosive *g* (as in English *get*) is a generally observed phenomenon. So Arabic غ, which exactly corresponds to this uvular *r* (surd and sonant), is often rendered by foreigners as *g*. A well-known instance is afforded by the name *Bagdad* (بغداد). Here, of course, it is sonant.

The mishearing of final *t* and *p* may be accounted for by the peculiarity of the English (and also German and Danish) pronunciation of the surd consonants in opposition to the French (and also the Dutch) way of producing them: in the former a slight aspiration is heard after each of them. Consequently a final *t* without any such aspiration—pronounced *bare*, so to say—is easily misinterpreted as a *d*; and so final *p* as a *b*. Indeed this peculiarity in the pronunciation of the surd is never observed in Tidong or Malay, nor in any of the Indonesian languages.

Another possible explanation of mishearing a *d* for another final is the peculiar *subdental* pronunciation given to *n* as a final. So the words written with final *d* may end in *n* instead.[1]

As to final ', it may be identified with Arabic *'ain* (ع). Of course it is surd too, but our definition of it as *pharyngal* is not in accordance with that given by Sweet and other phonetists. The name Arabian grammarians give it—*hamza*—exactly defines its nature as a sound produced by 'pressure' of the throat. We are able to observe its formation between the glottis and the uvula, at various heights.

h—sonant and surd—is produced at the same place of articulation as ', the surd type only occurring as a final. This 'visarga', as the Hindoos call it, is rather difficult to the European organs of speech. Confusion of it with final ' is very general among the English and Dutch. So: *puah*, thirsty; *salah*, guilt, fault.

§ 2. It will be noticed that in the above table of sounds we define *c* (Engl. transliteration *ch*) and *j* as *dentals*. Such indeed they are, being formed with the tip of the tongue against the extremity of the upper teeth, so that the lower teeth are also touched by it.[2]

[1] Mr. Aernout's vocabulary gives *pansulan* for 'relations'; Mr. Beech *p'nsulud*.

[2] My definition in *Malay Phonetics* as 'palatals' is consequently inexact, as Malay and Tidong have the same *c* and *j*.

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The usual *ñ* is formed exactly in the same way as *c* or *j*, but for the opening of the nasal passage by lowering the 'velum'. So we call it *subdental*, like *t* and *s*. The usual *d* is superdental in Malay, and presumably is so too in Tidong.

The letters printed in thick type denote the consonants only occurring by the influence of *assimilation*. So subdental l appears only immediately after another subdental as final of the preceding word in a sentence, and superdental *t* is heard immediately after a final *l*:

Obut **l***angga*, a light pillow;
daka nyanggal **t***imur*, I touch the water.

Similar assimilations take place with other initials or explosives.

§ 3. A consonant hitherto never noticed or defined, as far as we know, is the 'pharyngal nasal,' i.e. the nasal corresponding to ' as a 'stop' or explosive and *h* as a fricative, and indicated on the table by $\bar{n}_1$ and $\bar{n}_2$. It is constantly confounded with the velar, or, far more frequently, with the postpalatal nasal (table: $\bar{n}_1$ and $\bar{n}_2$, and η_1 and η_2), all these being rendered by *ng*. So in this vocabulary and in the grammar, as in all other vocabularies and grammars of Malay-Polynesian languages. Malays themselves commit the same error, writing all three alike, surd and sonant (properly six different consonants!) with the one sign ڠ. The other systems of writing—those of Hindoo origin, the Lampong alphabet, that of the Rejangs, that of the Tegalocs, that of the Javanese, the Madurese, the Balinese, that of the Buginese and Makassarese—all show the same lack of accuracy.

§ 4. The pharyngal type of these nasals is heard when initial ' turns into its corresponding nasal by the joining of a verbal or other prefix:

So *'aŋkat* becomes *ñaŋkat*, which we have to consider as an abbreviation of *'añaŋkat*.

This type of nasal does not occur in any other instances in which *ng* is written, e.g. *between two vowels*, any more than in Malay, Dayak, &c.:

s'taŋah, half (spelt in the vocabulary *s'tangah*);
tumaŋi, to bewail (spelt in the vocabulary *tumangi*);
těŋidi, to sleep (spelt in the vocabulary *tingidi*).

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§ 5. As a final, even as the ending of the first syllable of a disyllabic stem, it never occurs. What is written *ng* as a final is always *ŋ*, the surd postpalatal nasal, as in *guaŋ* (*guang*), *mālaŋ* (*malang*), *gaŋgaw* (*ganggau*), &c.

ʒ is extremely rare, and ʂ still rarer, both only appearing in case of coalescence, by assimilation. So in—

puputʂ daka mindaw, after I had descended.

And in—

sia mapaʒ bāju-nia, he brushes his jacket.

§ 6. It is impossible to give here all the rules for *short* and *long* vowels; but it will be useful to notice:

1. That in the penult *a* is always short and prepalatal before a final open syllable in *i* or *u*, beginning with a surd: *ʾiaki*, elephant, but *ʾāgi*, more, yet; *ʾaku*, I, me, but *bāgu*, new; *ʾati*, heart, but *ʾiādi*, younger brother or sister; *ñʂapu*, to struggle, but *tābu*, sugar-cane, &c.

2. That in all other cases *a* is long and prepalatal in an open syllable (*bākas*, pig, *sāgut*, to tangle); short, like all other vowels, and mostly prepalatal too, in a closed syllable (*mambaŋ*, to strike).[1]

3. That *i* and *u* are only long before an *r*: *cīrit*, pipkin, *nūrus*, to chase, but *ʾusi*, cat, *ʾulun*, man, *lisaʾ*, mud.

4. An *r* always lengthens any immediately preceding vowel, when itself the initial of the last syllable.

5. When a root-syllable (the last of a stem) contains a high *o* (*ó*), an *o* which occurs in the preceding syllable must be high too; if an *o* in the root-syllable is low, an *o* in the preceding syllable must be low also. Similarly, when the root-syllable contains a high *e* (*é*), an *e* which occurs in the preceding syllable must also be high; if an *e* in the root-syllable is low, an *e* in the preceding syllable must be low also. Thus:

[1] What Mr. Beech defines as *ä* 'exactly as in the Engl. *mud*' (p. 18) is indeed nothing else but German *a* in *Katze* (Dutch *kat*), so that it is a trifle different from the sound written with *u* in *mud*. Compare the Engl. renderings of Indian geographical names: *Jumnah* (Whitney's and others' rendering, *Jamnah*), *Punjab* (Pañcāp), *Calcutta* (Kalikātā). Indeed the sound implied (except in the last instance, where it is the long type) is a 'low mid' *a*, being produced in the middle of the mouth in a low position of the tongue.

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in *tolo*ŋ, help, both *o*'s are low, as the second is low, being placed in a closed syllable; *poto*ŋ, cut, idem;

in *tete*ᵉ, breasts, both *e*'s are low, as the second is low, being placed in a closed syllable. This word is spelt in the vocabulary *tite*ᵉ.

6. When a stem contains *e and o*, either both are low or both are high.

§ 7. ACCENT.—The general rule is: the accent lies on the penult, provided this does not contain *ĕ* (medio-palatal, French '*e* muet'):—

*kápa*ᵉ, hatchet.
dinándu, woman.
nusáï, what?
kasábay, arrived.

Bolongan
- *tĕrâ*ŋ (voc. *t'râng*), clear.
- *kĕpá*ᵉ, curtailed.
- *gĕnáp* (voc. *g'nap*), enough, complete.

In Tarakan instances of *ĕ* in the penult are extremely rare: *mĕñjul*, through (voc. *m'njul*).

§ 8. It is sometimes difficult to make out which syllable is the penult, when a word is not *heard*.

Suffixes may cause a *shift of accent* to the new penult, the suffix being felt as part of the word to which it has been added, but only *if the word ends in a vowel*:

in *nusáï* (compound of *nu* + *sa* + *i*) *i* is a suffix;
in *bálay*, house (voc. *balei*), there is none;
in *tĕtápi*, but, there is no suffix;
in *naŋkúbi*, to cover (from *táŋkup*), there is;
in *pupus-nia*, afterwards, the original accent remains;
in *sāmá-mu ñandāgu*, don't speak, *mu* is a suffix;
in *cōbé-m pānaw*, do go away now (Bolongan), the *m* corresponds to the same *-mu* (you).

N.B.—*nia* in Tar. and *na* in Bol., both meaning 'already' and denoting a sort of affirmation like Malay *lah*, are *no suffixes*. They ought therefore to be written separately, and so ought *lah* in Malay. Most European Malayists, however, imitate the Malays themselves and wrongly write it as a suffix. They are enclitic particles indeed,

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like *pun* (pon) in Malay, but this is no reason for treating them as suffixes. For the rest, see below.

§ 9. PREFIXES, SUFFIXES, and INFIXES. They are mostly the same or equivalents of the same as in the nearest related languages. One *infix* (-in-) is lacking in Dayak and Malay, but found in Javanese, &c.[1]

§ 10. We have to distinguish *living* and *dead prefixes*. The former are still felt as such by the living generation, the latter are no more separable from their 'disyllabic' stem. Stems lengthened by such dead prefixes may be called 'secondary' stems, in opposition to the 'primary' ones, which always consist of two syllables. So—

tĕŋ[2] in *tĕngkarāwa*, spider, is a 'dead' prefix, for *karāwa* does not exist separately. Moreover, *karāwa* is itself a secondary stem (*ka* and *rāwa*), showing the common prefix for names of animals, trees, &c. (comp. Mal. *lāba-lāba*, a spider).

In *ʾiāka*, older brother or sister, *ʾi* is another dead prefix; whereas *pa* in *pakēran* (to astonish) is quite alive: it may still be freely applied to other stems (adjectives mostly).

§ 11. The Tidong *prefixes* follow here:

1. *ʾa*. This prefix may immediately precede a *verbal* stem, or be joined to it by the aid of the nasal corresponding to the initial of this stem. In the latter case the nasal will generally *replace* the initial, if this is *surd* (*k*, *s*, *t*, *c*, *p*); the verb then has a transitive meaning. A collateral form of *ʾa* is *n̄₂a* (with pharyngal nasal, but mostly without inserted nasal after it), which has the same value as *ʾa* with inserted or substituted nasal, being always transitive. Examples:—

ʾakādat, to be awake (from *kadat*, awake).
ʾañ₂ʾaŋkat, to lift up (from *ʾaŋkat*, lifted).
n̄₂ajilat, to lick (from *jilat*, tongue).
n̄₂andagu, to say (from *dagu*, word, said).
n̄₂antugus, to make (from *tugus*, made, making, work).
ʾañ₂ādoŋ (Bol.), to give (from *sādoŋ*, ration, portion), which has also the (normal) abbreviated form, *ñ₂ādoŋ*.

[1] Malay *binātang*, animal, is the only existing remnant, as it must come from *batang*, body, a word still found in Javanese, Sund., &c.

[2] From § 10 on we write as much as possible in accordance with the spelling in the vocabulary.

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ᵊanāmas, to keep (from *tāmas*, kept, the thing kept, keeping); abbreviated form, *nāmas*.

ᵊaminsaŋ, to tear (from *binsaŋ*, torn, tearing, the thing torn); abbreviated form, *minsaŋ*.

ᵊamutar, to turn (from *putar*, turned, the thing turned, turning); abbreviated form, *mutar*.

N.B.—ᵊ (*hamza*) as an initial being *sonant*, it does not disappear after the corresponding nasal; it is barely audible after it (so in Malay *mañᵊambil*, usually written *mengambil*, but sometimes written by Malays *maämbil*, so that the inserted nasal is neglected).

2. *ba*. This prefix is rather rare. It forms adjectives and intransitive verbs (imperfective form, see *verb* below) in the Malay way, just as ᵊ*a* or *n̄*ᵊ*a* not followed by a vowel. We see it in—

bagūru, to have a master, to learn (from *gūru*, teacher, master).

baīraw, to have a banquet, to eat a feast (from *īraw*, a feast?).

bakasiat, useful, to be useful (from *kasiat*, usefulness?).

batarāis, to scream, to shriek (from *tarāis*, a shriek).

badulur$_1$, to marry (from *dulur*$_1$, a companion? Comp. Jav. *sadulur*, brother, sister).

baiŋkuy, to be tailed, having a tail (from *ᵊiŋkuy*, a tail).

3. *ka*. Seems to have the same characteristic application as Malay *ta* or *tĕ* (mostly followed by an uvular *r*) and Javanese *ka* or *kĕ* before a verbal stem: it denotes an unintentional, sometimes accidental, act.

Bulan kasila nia, the moon 'has come out', has risen.

Kasukap nia tumbaŋan-na, his door went open (*sinukap* would mean: was opened intentionally by *some one*).

Some formations with this prefix are pure adjectives (=intransitive verbs with *bĕ*): *katian*, pregnant (see note 4, p. 89).

Another function yet is that of forming ordinals: *kadua*, &c.

4. *ta*. This is also met with in Tar. in the same sense as *ka* (see 3). In Bol. it plays the same part.

5. ᵊ*i*. Only occurs sporadically. It occurs in terms of family relationship:—

ᵊiāma, father.

ᵊiādi, younger brother or sister.

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ᵃimāman, uncle (from *ama*, father).[1]
ᵃiminan, aunt (from *ina*, mother).[1]

6. *iŋgabuᵃ*, to fight, and *ᵃinsāduy*, to swim, afford us examples of a prefix *ᵃi* broadened out by a nasal after it. It is very rare and forms the imperfective or durative of intransitive verbs; sometimes adjectives: *ᵃimbulaᵃ*, unripe, juvenile, *ᵃiŋgilut*, alike.

7. *pa* or *pĕ*. Forms causative and denominative verbs from other verbs and nouns (mostly adjectives), without changing the initial or inserting a nasal; but when it denotes the instrument or agent, the performer of an act or a person who has a certain habit or obvious quality, it requires the changing of the initial into the corresponding nasal or the inserting of a nasal just as with the transitive verbs formed with the prefix *ᵃa* (see above):—

papatay, to make to die, to kill (from *patay*, death).
panakaw, 'stealer,' thief (from *takaw*, theft, the act of stealing).
pañ₃ukap, 'opener,' corkscrew (from *sukap*, open, &c.).
p'ndidik, matches from flint.
pampulùh, to bird (a rare case of a *pa-* verb with inserted nasal, from *puluh*, bird-lime).
paliŋas, cheek (from *lingas* = ear?).
paŋgilan, to compare (another instance of nasal insertion, from *gilan*, comparing, term of comparison, &c.).
pakindi, to erect (from *kindi*, erect, standing).

As the sporadic intransitive verbs with *ᵃi+nasal* prefix have exactly the same grammatical value as those with *ĕm*, *m*, *am* or *um* infix, in both cases the sign of the intransitive has to disappear when a *pa-* form is constructed:—

māpoŋ, to remain, to dwell, intransitive (imperfective), from *āpoŋ*, remaining.
pa-āpoŋ, to make to remain, to leave.
int'lābas, to be naked, intransitive (imperfective) from *t'lābas*, naked.
pa-t'lābas, to make naked, to undress, &c.

[1] I should like to take these words as *ᵃi* + *mama* + *an*, and *ᵃi* + *mina* + *an*, one who is like a father, one who is like a mother (see infix *-ĕm-*).

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8. *si*, *sa*, or *sĕ* (*s'*) seem to be extremely rare. This prefix only occurs to make nouns (and occasionally an adverb) in Tidong:—

sidāya, interior (of a country), from *dāya*, 'south' (interior of Borneo for a Tidong; comp. Malay *idem* and Madurese 'north': *döjöh*).

s'nái? (*sĕ*+*na*+*i*), how? Another noun is *sasālut*, needle.

Compare the similar use of *sĕ* or *sa* in Malay.

9. *ma* or *mĕ* (*m'*). Must be the imperfective active form of the prefix *pa*. I have only been able to find *two* examples in the vocabulary:—

maŋkāloŋ, to hurl (Tar.),
maŋkĕlaƥ, to upset (Bol.),

which have to correspond to perfective forms *paŋkāloŋ* and *paĕ'laƥ* or *paŋkĕláƥ* (see verb below and p. 87, Vocabulary, *in voce* overturn).

Besides, it may come to replace the infix *-um-*, *-am-*, or *-ĕm-* when the verbal stem begins with *r* or *l*: *maresin*, to sneeze; *marĕbas*, to be adrift. These are intransitive verbs. Rare is a case like *mantūrus*, to run.

10. *li*. Forms nouns, but very few:—

lindada (*li*+nasal+*dada*), shadow.
limata^{a}, leech.

It may take the nasal after it, as all other noun-forming prefixes.

The only *living* prefixes with which nouns are formed are *pa* and *pĕ*. *All the other above-mentioned prefixes are found occasionally with this function.* They *then* have the value of a *definite article.* We mostly observe this phenomenon in names of animals, plants, fruits, or parts of them. So we meet with—

^{a}a or ^{a}ĕ: ^{a}*aniat*, cloud (Tar.),
ñapar (for ^{a}*àñipar*), snake (Bol.).
ba or bĕ: *bakulùŋ* or *baŋkulùŋ*, back.
balintuŋ, rainbow.
ka or kĕ: *kasiput*, periwinkle.
karijat, lightning.
kĕrētan, porpoise.

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ta or **tĕ**: *taŋkarāwa*, spider (*ta*+*ŋ*+*ka*+*rāwa*, with double prefix).
t'ndulu, hand (*tĕ*+*n*+*dulu*).[1]
tatundˢ, prawn.

i or **i**+nasal: *ˢimbāwa*, shoulder.
ˢindulay, lead (metal).
ˢimb'lua (*i*+*m*+*ba*+*dua*; compare Bol.).
ˢiāduˢ, grandparents.
ˢindikay, water-melon.

pa or **pĕ**, with or without nasal: *paliŋas*, cheek.
parumpùˢ, nipa palm.

si or **sa** or **sĕ**: *sidāya* (see above).
sasābu, urine.

ma or **mĕ**: *m'mbāriŋ* (with inserted nasal), 'blachan.'
m'ndipaˢ, snake.

li or **la** or **lĕ**: *limaŋu*, crab (*li*+*maŋu*).
lantimun, cucumber (see Voc.)

§ **12.** INFIXES. The so-called infixes are—
1. *'m*, *ĕm* or *am*, *um*,
and 2. *in*.

We have to keep in view that the name *infix* only applies to the graphic image of the word where it is inserted by *writing ĕm*, &c., immediately after the initial *letter*. In reality the phonetic process is something else.

In words like *māpòŋ*, to remain (from *ˢāpòŋ*, remaining) we may suppose *ˢĕ* has been dropped (*ˢĕmāpoŋ* > *māpoŋ*).

tumaŋi (from *taŋi*, crying), to weep, to cry.
jĕmuar (from *juar* = ?) = Bol. *babuïh*, to foam.

The last instance shows that this 'infix' corresponds in meaning to the prefix *ba* (see above). Indeed it forms intransitive verbs, mostly with a durative idea (imperfective).

-in- is used to make perfectives (with momentaneous meaning)

[1] In the vocabulary *tindulu*, probably meant with the sound of *i* as in Engl. *tin*, but, if so, wrongly heard instead of *t'ndulu*. This mishearing of *i* (as in *tin*) for *é* (French *e muet*) is very common among European-born whites.

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and mostly to be taken in a passive sense (see verb below, also for the interchanging of *-in-* with *ʾina*) :—

lināgaw or *ʾinalagaw* (Tar.), *tināwal* (Bol.), called.

§ 13. SUFFIXES. Here again there are but few :—

1. *-an*,
2. *-i*,

the latter sporadic. We see *an* in some rather rare derivatives, mostly no longer felt as such :—

titikan, matches from flint (from *titik*, knock, tick).
tumbaŋan, door, gate (from *tumbaŋ* = to fall to, to fall down ?)
taŋgulan, shaft of a lance (from *taŋgul*, stick ?).

It sometimes forms intransitive verbs (adjectives with 'to be') with a frequentative meaning :—

baŋalan or *baŋaran*, to be deaf, hard of hearing.
lulunan, to kiss, to hug.

-i is found in transitive verbs :

taŋkubi, to cover, to deck,

and sometimes as a mere additional indication :—

ginâï, that (compare French *celui-là*).
mānâï, where ? (compare Malay *māna*).

§ 14. *Prefix and suffix at the same time* occur in some rare instances :—

ka + *-an* : *kamānákan*, nephew, niece.
katupálan, greatness, splendour.
pa + *-an* : *pajañjian* (probably from the Malay), contract.
ta (+ nasal) or *tĕ* (+ nasal) + *-an* : *t'ŋkābáŋan*, shield.

§ 15. *Foreign words*, of course, do not follow the above-given rules of word-formation. So *kadila* (Molucco Malay from Port. *cadeira*), chair, has nothing to do with the prefix *ka*, nor has *pakāyan*, clothes, anything to do with the prefix *pa* (Mal. *pakāy-an*). Some foreign words have undergone a sort of adaptation. So Sanskrit Malay *cābay*, Spanish or red pepper, has become *sābi* in Tarakan, *cābi* in Bolongan. Verbs or adjectives with *ba* + inserted *r* are

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probably all borrowings from the Malay. So: *b'ranti*, to stand still; *b'rutaŋ*, to be in debt, to owe. Tidong stems do not want this binding with *r* to the prefix.

Some other points of Tidong Grammar

§ 16. As in everything except the phonetic system and the word-formation, especially that of the *verb*, the Tidong language possesses the same peculiarities as its sisters, Malay for instance; we need not treat them at length here. Syntactical differences are rare too: these are likewise connected with the use of the verbal forms. For the rest we refer to Mr. Beech's work.

The Verb

§ 17. Just as with Malay, we have to keep in view that *all verbal forms* may be reduced to these two 'phases', so to say,

1. the *perfective*
and 2. the *imperfective*,

without any distinction of time.

The perfective phase as a rule denotes a *momentaneous* or *achieved* doing (aorist or perfect idea), the imperfective a *duration* or *incompleteness* of the same.

We may compare the Malay-Polynesian verb in the former phase with our 'past participle', in the latter phase with our 'present participle'. Indeed finite forms are unknown.[1]

As imperfective forms are to be reckoned:—

those with the prefixes **'a** or **ña** (with or without inserted nasal), **ba**, **ma**, **'i** (with nasal), and the infix **-'m-**, **-am-**, **-ĕm-** or **-um-**.

As perfective forms: all the others.

Examples:—

[1] Compare Prof. H. Kern's *De Fidjitaal vergeleken met hare verwanten in Indonesië en Polynesië*, Amsterdam, Johannes Muller, 1886, p. 102.

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Imperfective.	Perfective.
ᵊakādat, to be awake, being awake, &c.	*kādat*, to awake, awoken, &c.
ᵊañaŋkat, to go to lift up, to be lifting up, &c.	*inaŋkat*, lifted, raised.
ᵊindupi, to be dreaming, to have dreams, &c.	*inarampas*, robbed.
ᵊintimùŋ, to be assembled, assembling, &c.	*dupi-na*, his having dreamt, his dream.
ᵊiŋgābùᵊ, to fight, to be fighting, &c.	*tinimùŋ*, assembled.
baīraw, to be feasting, to have a feast, &c.	*gābuᵊ-ka*, my having fought.
basiwa, to bet, to lay a wager.	*ᵊīraw daka*, my feast, my having given a banquet.
maŋkāloŋ, to be hurling, going to hurl, &c.	*siwa-mu*, your having laid a wager.
sᵊmila, going out, getting out, &c.	*pakāloŋ*, to hurl (as something momentaneous).
	pasila, to put out, to take out (as something momentaneous).
māpoŋ (*ᵊe-m-āpoŋ*), to remain, remaining, &c.	*pin(a)-āpoŋ*, left behind.

Imperfective.		Perfective.	
sumābu (Tar.) = *ñañcĕbú* (Bol.) =	making water, &c.,	*sābu* *cĕbú*	urine (the act of having made water).
jĕmuar (Tar.) = *babuih* (Bol.) =	to be foaming, &c.	*juar-na*, its foam, its having foamed, &c.	

§ 18. Just as in Malay, the *passive* verbs always show the *perfective* form. If we think of the rarity of the English 'progressive form' of the passive ('is being built'), we need not wonder at this peculiarity of Tidong grammar.

These are the three ways of expressing the passive:

1. by the infix *in*, sometimes replaced by the prefix *ᵊin* or *ᵊina* (by far the most usual),
2. by the prefix *ka*,
3. by the prefix *ta*,

} rare.

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But—this is to be kept in view—*not all verbal derivations with these prefixes and this infix are passives.*

So we may find *tinak*, to give (perfective from *tak*), just as all other similar infix-bearing verbs used in an active sense:—

bināgi-mu dua, cut (it) in halves, which exactly corresponds to the Malay

bāgi dua.

The literal translation of the Tidong imperative would be: your dividing (be) two, or rather: the result of your dividing (be) two.[1]

§ **19.** When the verbal stem begins with a ', *r*, or *l*, the infix *-in-* is replaced by the prefix *'in* (before ') or *'ina* (before *r* or *l*):

'inānak, born (from *'ānak*, child, the act of bearing a child).
'inālap, taken (from *'alap*, the act of taking).
'inarampas, robbed, snatched away (from *rampas*).
'inalāgaw, called.

§ **20.** Some *intransitive* verbs have *'i* and inserted nasal *before* the stem:

'inkāmaŋ, to creep, creeping,
'intāmu, to meet, be meeting (Jav. *kětěmú*, Mal. *bĕrtĕmú*).
'iŋgābuŋ, to fight, be fighting.

We might compare this form with the Latin *verba deponentia*, these being also often intransitive with a form like the passive of transitives.

§ **21.** *Ta* and *ka* with identical meanings exclusively denote a perfective in *kasābay*, come, arrive(d), but in *tadāgu* the prefix may be taken in a passive sense too.

§ **22.** The part the inserted nasals play in the language, as also that of the nasals replacing initials, is as a rule a purely *phonetic* one. They only then assume a syntactical character, if they represent an omitted prefix. Then they are like hinges left at a doorpost, showing that there has been or ought to be a door hanging on them.

[1] That such a form as *bināgi* does not strictly express a passive, but denotes the result of the action (which then is identified with the act itself; compare the English word *act* in both senses), is proved by a word like *'iñālan*, name, from *'ālan* (= Jav. *'āran*, name).

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So *nutup* stands for *ᵃā-nutup* (from *tutup*).

As to the different changes the surd initials undergo by the influence of the prefix, see the preceding grammar.

§ 23. The *imperative* in Tidong is mostly formed in a way different from Malay:—

Transitive verbs take the perfective form with inserted *-in-* or prefixed *ᵃin-*, *ᵃina-*, the personal pronoun being added to it by way of a suffix:—

sinaŋgal-mu ulin, hold the rudder.

But intransitive verbs follow the Malay manner: the imperative is expressed by the bare stem or simplest form of the perfective, or by the imperfective with *-m-*, *-am-*, &c., when that form exists.

Māsih da ulun gina (*māsih*, from *ᵃāsih*, love, pity), pity that man.

Then the personal pronoun is as unnecessary as in Malay. The Bol. dialect comes nearer to the Malay, as it sometimes follows the Malay way even for transitive verbs:

cōbè-m, try!

But, as we see, the pronoun is affixed in an abbreviated form; whereas in Malay the pronoun can only be added if *ᵃōléh* comes between:—

daŋar laḥ ōléh-mu, hear thou!

§ 24. The *pa-perfective* seems far more current than its counterpart the imperfective with prefixed *ma*. We have, however, to reckon a verb like

mañjēu, to bathe,

as an imperfective, because the literal meaning is a causative (a double transitive), corresponding to Malay *m'ñjīruskĕn*, to sprinkle with water, &c. The intransitive imperfective would be:—

jĕmēu, as the *in*-perfective, used as passive, is *jinēu* (stem *jēu*).

Compare *jĕmuar*, to boil, and our observation about the prefix *ma* in § 11, 9.

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§ 25. Malay and Tidong Verbal Affixes compared as to their Syntactical Value

Malay.			*Tidong.*
bĕ (+*r*)	corresponds to	*ba-* and *bĕ*	or *-m-*, *-ĕm-*, *-am-*, *-um-* (before *r* or *l*: prefix *ma* or *mĕ*) or *ˢi-* + nasal
mĕ (+ nasal)	,,	,,	*ˢa* + nasal or *ña*
-kĕn	,,	,,	*pa-*
pĕ+*r* (as a rule along with *-kĕn*, so *pĕrtĕtapkĕn*, to settle, to fix)	,,	,,	*pa-* (+ nasal, sometimes)
di-	,,	,,	*-in-* or *ˢin-*, *ˢina-*
ta- or *tĕ-* (+*r*)	,,	,,	*ka-* or *ta-*
ka- or *kĕ*+*-an*	,,	,,	*ka-* or *ta-*
-i	,,	,,	*-i*
di- + *-ña*	,,	,,	*in-* + *na* (*-nia*), *ˢin* + *na-* (*-nia*) or *ˢina-* + *-na* (*-nia*)
(*di-bĕri-ña*) rendered by putting the pers. pron. immediately before the verbal stem, mostly in an abbreviated form:—	,,	,,	(*t-in-ak-na* (or *nia*))
'ku bĕri (= *aku bĕri*)	,,	,,	*t-in-ak-ku*
'kaw bĕri (= *ĕŋkaw berĭ*),	,,	,,	*t-in-ak-mu*
bare stem in Malay	,,	,,	*t-in-ak-mu* if meant as an imperative

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